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CHRISTIANITY AND ISLAM UNDER THE SULTANS

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THE SACRED FOWLS OF SAINT JAMES

CHRISTIANITY AND ISLAM UNDER THE SULTANS

BY THE LATE

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PART III

MISCELLANEA

XXV

PLATO IN THE FOLK-LORE OF THE KONIA PLAIN [1]

ABOUT fifty miles west of Konia, the capital of the Seljuk princes of Rum, is a spring with a remarkable Hittite monument, known locally as the 'Spring of Plato' (Eflatun Bunari). The monument consists of a mass of masonry built of colossal stones, the chief face being decorated with a number of rude human figures sculptured in relief.[2]

The connexion of Plato's name with this monument has long, and rightly, been regarded as due not to Greek but to medieval Turkish traditions.[3] In the learning of the Arabs, Plato 'the divine' holds a distinguished place. In Persia several philosophic *Sufi* sects claim to be his followers.[4] The culture of the Seljuk Turks was entirely derived from the Persian, and Konia has been from 1233 onwards the seat of the philosophic Mevlevi dervishes. We are not surprised to find that, at the Zinjirli *medreseh* in the neighbouring town of Karaman, students of the highest class were officially called 'Platonists',[5] or that the name of Plato should be known, at least to the learned, in medieval Konia.

The connexion of Plato with the Hittite monument which bears his name is still not obvious. Some new light is thrown upon the question by the traditions still current in Konia [6] concerning the philosopher and

[1] The first edition of this chapter appeared in *B.S.A.* xviii, 265 ff.

[2] See Hamilton, *Asia Minor*, ii, 350; W. H. Ward, in *A.J.A.* 1886, 49; Sarre, *Reise in Kleinasien*, p. 123; Perrot and Chipiez, *Hist. de l'Art*, iv, 734 ff. and fig. 356.

[3] Ramsay, *Pauline Studies*, p. 177.

[4] Malcolm, *Hist. of Persia*, ii, 272 f.

[5] Hammer-Hellert, *Hist. Emp. Ott.* i, 232, 405.

[6] These came almost without exception from Sir W. M. Ramsay's servant, Prodromos Petrides.

by stray references to him in the description of this part of Asia Minor by the seventeenth-century Turkish geographer Haji Khalfa.[1] These references are three in number.

The first records the existence of a 'tomb of Plato the divine'[2] in the citadel at Konia.[3] This is also mentioned earlier by the thirteenth-century geographer Yakut,[4] one of Haji Khalfa's acknowledged sources. Yakut adds that the tomb was 'in the church by the mosque'.[5] This church is identified with that of S. Amphilochius by a note in the *Pilgrimage of the Merchant Basil* (1466): 'il y a là une église chrétienne [consacrée] selon eux, à Platon, &, selon nous, à Amphilothée (*sic*). Il repose entre la grande porte & la porte septentrionale [de l'autel]; et l'huile sainte découle de lui jusqu'à présent.'[6] The church of S. Amphilochius, a fourth-century bishop of Iconium, is still standing,[7] and in it is said to exist a 'spring of Plato',[8] probably the *ayasma* of the saint, considered as a well devised for astrological purposes.[9]

[1] Tr. Armain, ii, 651 ff.

[2] Plato, Aristotle, and Socrates are given the title of 'divine' as having admitted a Prime Cause in their philosophies; the tomb of Plato is placed by Haji Khalfa immediately after the orthodox Mohammedan pilgrimages at Konia.

[3] P. 670, *cf.* Otter (*Voyage*, i, 61), who borrows direct from Haji Khalfa, as often, *e.g.*, in the case of the Ivriz relief; a comparison with Haji Khalfa shows that he never visited this monument, though he is generally credited with the discovery.

[4] The date of Yakut's *Geography* is generally given as 1224.

[5] *Ap.* Sarre, *op. cit.*, p. 34, note; *cf.* p. 125.

[6] Ed. Khitrovo, *Itin. Russes*, p. 256.

[7] Ramsay and Bell, *Thousand and One Churches*, figs. 328–30 incl.; Ramsay, *Cities of St. Paul*, p. 380 and pl. xiv; *Pauline Studies*, pp. 170 f.

[8] *Pauline Studies*, p. 170.

[9] For a well of this sort see Evliya, *Travels*, I, ii, 60: '... the astronomer's well, which is one hundred and five cubits deep, and was dug by the famous astronomer Ali Kushje for astronomical observations' (*temp.* Murad IV); *cf.* E. M. Sykes, *Persia and its People*, p. 140. The use of the well is of course a form of lekanomancy analogous to the 'inkpool' method of divination still used in the East.

The church is still vaguely connected with Plato: some hold that it was his observatory, others 'have heard' that his tomb is there. I could see no trace of tomb or *ayasma* inside the building, nor does the saint share 'Plato's' connexion with the underground river supposed to flow beneath it.

The second reference [1] is to the so-called 'river of Plato' by a village (not marked on our maps) called Bunarbashi, near Madenshehr and the 'Thousand and One Churches.'

In both these passages, as at Eflatun Bunari, Plato's name is associated with water-springs,[2] and that in a country where the water supply is regulated by mysterious and still imperfectly known channels.[3] Pre-Hellenic Iconium had a legend of a deluge in which the entire

[1] *Op. cit.*, p. 735: 'Maaden Schari, alio nomine Eflatun Sui' in Norberg's translation (ii, 529).

[2] I do not know this country well enough to say whether plane-trees, which in some parts habitually grow by springs, or some Greek place-name derived from πλάτανος [*plane-tree*], may have suggested the connexion.

[3] Ramsay, *Cities of St. Paul*, p. 323; *cf.* Hamilton, *op. cit.*, i, 482; ii, 342. With these channels are probably connected strange places like the 'devil-haunted' lake of Obruk (Sarre, *op. cit.*, p. 74). In his *Παραδόσεις*, nos. 59–67, Polites gives instances of places βουλιαγμένοι for sins (no. 59: Kopais blocked the outlet for spite). Similarly imperfect knowledge is responsible for the tale heard by Goujon to the effect that objects thrown into the Jordan emerged at Messina because there was an underground connexion between the two (*Terre Sainte*, p. 225). A Lebanon herdsman blocked the outlet of a lake there: as a result a river in Persia dried up, but the herdsman's staff, having fallen into the lake, appeared in Persia, and so was instrumental in ultimately discovering the herdsman, who for a heavy reward unblocked the outlet of the lake (Kelly, *Syria*, p. 60, from Lamartine, *Voyage en Orient*, iii, 118 ff., *cf. ibid.* iv, 67). A similar mysterious underground connexion was supposed to exist between a well in Cairo and Zem-Zem at Mecca (Lee Childe, *Un Hiver au Caire*, p. 50; Le Bruyn, *Voyage*, Delft 1700, p. 188). It is instructive to compare with these the procedure followed in the case of the vanishing and reappearing stream of Samaden, Switzerland (*Bund*, Berne, 4 September, 1919).

population perished.[1] The whole plain was, and is, subject to floods.

The missing link in the connexion is supplied by Haji Khalfa's third reference to Plato: 'The inhabitants of the country [2] say that the plain of Konia was once a sea, which Plato caused to disappear.' [3]

In our own times, Hamilton, the discoverer of Eflatun Bunari, heard at the lake of Egerdir a converse tradition that 'eight hundred years ago it was all dry land and that a river ran through it until its course was stopped by a magician named Eflat'.[4] The same legend is current at Beyshehr, where 'Plato' is supposed to have blocked the outlet of the lake in order to bring its water to Konia, but to have desisted on finding that a town was flooded by his operations.[5] Similarly, Eflatun Bunari is regarded as the spot where 'Plato', with cotton, pitch, and large stones, blocked the outlet of a subterranean river which threatened to flood Konia: this legend is current also at Konia itself. The figure of Plato has become very vague. He is generally described as a Turkish *bey*, but is said by the more imaginative to have come from Bagdad.

The role of the magician-philosopher-engineer Plato in the plain of Konia thus proves to be similar to that of the Minyans in Boeotia and of Herakles in Thessaly, at Lerna, and at Pheneos. He represents not only superhuman skill, magical or divine, but also the superior science of an age long past and dimly remembered by its monuments.[6] The conception of the 'ma-

[1] Ramsay, *ibid.*, pp. 319 ff. [2] About Ismil, east of Konia.

[3] P. 671, the saltness of L. Tatta and others in the district suggests a 'sea' rather than a mere freshwater inundation.

[4] *Op. cit.*, i, 482. [5] From Prodromos Petrides.

[6] This non-magical side is well illustrated by the strictly utilitarian and rather commonplace works ascribed by Orientals to Apollonius of Tyana (=Belinas, see Steinschneider in *Z. D. Morgenl. Ges.* xlv, 439 ff. and Gottheil, *ibid.* xlvi, 466). Such are an economically heated bath at Caesarea Mazaca (Haji Khalfa, tr. Armain, p. 676; *cf.* H. Barth,

gician' who makes water appear and vanish is doubtless aided in this particular instance by the frequency of mirage effects in the district,[1] and that of the engineer by the subterranean water channels (*duden*) alluded to above.

But the manipulation of the flow of water by magicians is not effected by ordinary means, or subject to the ordinary hydraulic rules. An apocryphal work of 'Belinas' (Apollonius of Tyana) claims for its alleged writer that he 'directed the flow of waters by *talismans*',[2] that is, by the enchantment of spirits, persons, animals, or objects for the furtherance of that end. The 'talismans' were generally buried in the earth or set up on columns. The belief in such 'talismans' still persists in the East. In comparatively modern times a Pasha of Egypt, induced by a 'Frank' to dig for treasure, stumbled in the process inadvertently on the 'talisman' which prevented the silting up of a branch of the Nile.[3] The 'talisman' in this case was a huge negro holding a broom, with which, evidently, he was supposed to remove the silt. We may surmise with some probability on the analogy of other talismans, that the Pasha's actual discovery was an ancient statue or relief, possibly in black basalt and therefore supposed to represent a negro.[4] Similarly, Plato at Eflatun Bunari, having blocked the opening of the river, set 'talismans' to guard it in the shape of the figures of the Hittite relief. His intention

Reise, p. 57) and the canal at Damascus (Le Strange, *Palestine*, p. 266). On the other hand, the really remarkable engineering works of Alexander become so exaggerated as to be inexplicable save by magic (*cf. e.g.* Haji Khalfa, ii, 685). In western folk-lore the rich legend-cycle of Virgil covers the whole ground (see Comparetti, *Virgil in the Middle Ages*, *passim*).

[1] Sarre, *op. cit.*, p. 96.

[2] Gottheil in *Z. D. Morgenl. Ges.* xlvi, 470.

[3] See below, p. 732, and n. 1.

[4] For the 'idolum in forma pueri Aethiopis' seen by Fabri see below, p. 730, n. 2.

was of course beneficent, and ill-intentioned persons who wished to disturb his arrangements would be faced by a crowd of angry *jinns*. Somewhat similarly, one of the two giant columns at Urfa (Edessa) is regarded as a talisman, the removal of which would let loose floods on the city.[1]

Whether in Christian tradition S. Amphilochius or any other saint was credited with a beneficent miracle similar to Plato's, as the archangel Michael certainly was at Colossae,[2] we cannot say. The fact that 'Plato's tomb' was shown in a Christian church seems to favour such a supposition, but the substitution of names may have been made on quite untraceable grounds;[3] even a supposed resemblance between 'Eflatun' and some perverted form of Amphilochius is not impossible.[4] Nor is there any need to suppose a survival or continuous tradition, since the natural conditions of the country have at all times been sufficient to account for the

[1] This tradition, which appears not to be recorded elsewhere, I have orally from Mr. John Orchardson of the MacAndrews and Forbes Company. The other column at Urfa is held to conceal an immense treasure, but no one dares search for it for fear of mistaking the right column and causing a flood.

[2] Ramsay, *Cit. and Bish.*, p. 215. For S. Michael's association with waters see Lueken, *Michael*, pp. 53, 131.

[3] So the origin of the Ivriz river, with its mysterious source and disappearance, was locally attributed, for reasons entirely lost to us, not to Plato but to one of the Companions of the Prophet, see above, p. 106, n. 1.

[4] Note especially the form *Amphilotheos* in the *Pilgrimage of Basil*, which would help the identification as containing the consonants, *f, l, t*. The similarity (?) between the names of saint and sage, suggested by me as a possible reason for their identification, was brought forward spontaneously as an explanation at Konia. It is of course possible that the original dedication of the church was to S. Plato of Ancyra, martyred under Diocletian and celebrated by the eastern Church on 18 Nov.; he was sufficiently important to have had a cult at Constantinople, but nothing connects him with Iconium. S. (ὅσιος) Amphilochius was never a full-fledged saint and many churches are known by their founders' names rather than by those of their patron saints.

genesis of so simple a type of myth. At Dineir, for instance, where somewhat similar conditions prevail, we need not connect the ancient legends of the Deluge [1] with the modern folk-tale, located apparently at Sheikh Arab Gueul, of an ' infidel (*giaur*) dervish ' who flooded a town in revenge for ill-treatment.[2] Nor is a deluge-legend necessarily evidence of floods : the very instructive series of flood-legends given by Carnoy and Nicolaides [3] as current at Caesarea seems based merely on a gradual identification, probably by Armenians, of Argaeus with Ararat.[4]

[1] Ramsay, *Cit. and Bish.*, pp. 669 ff.

[2] Laborde, *Asie Mineure*, p. 105. The hero may again be Plato. *Giaur* is used as well as *but-parast* to designate pagans (von Diest, *Tilsit nach Angora*, p. 38, n. 6).

[3] *Trad. de l'Asie Mineure*, pp. 222–3 ; *cf.* Scott-Stevenson, *Ride through Asia Minor*, p. 206 ; Tozer, *Turkish Arm.*, p. 333. There are interesting deluge legends in Collin de Plancy, *Dict. des Reliques*, ii, 89. A lake is expected one day to burst through and flood Granada (W. G. Clark, *Gazpacho*, p. 156).

[4] *Cf.* Hume Griffith, *Behind the Veil in Persia*, p. 177 ; Leclercq, *Mont Ararat*, p. 79.

XXVI

CHRISTIANITY AND ISLAM UNDER THE SULTANS OF KONIA [1]

AT the first appearance of the Ottomans, towards the close of the thirteenth century, Christian and Turk had already been living for two centuries side by side in the interior of Asia Minor under the rule of the Seljuk sultans of Rum. The political history of this period is still emerging from obscurity : the social and religious history has hardly been touched. The Byzantine historians, concerned only incidentally with provinces already *in partibus*, give us no more than hints and we have none of those personal and intimate records which are apt to tell us much more of social conditions than the most elaborate chronicle.

The golden age of the Sultanate of Rum is undoubtedly the reign of Ala-ed-din I (1219–34), whose capital, Konia, still in its decay bears witness by monument and inscription to the culture and artistic achievement of his time. Ala-ed-din was a highly educated man and an enlightened ruler. He was familiar with Christianity, having spent eleven years in exile at Constantinople.[2] One of his predecessors, Kaikhosru I (1192–9, 1204–10), who likewise spent an exile in Christendom, nearly became a Christian and married a Christian wife.[3] He was more than suspected of infidelity to Islam by his stricter Moslem neighbour of Aleppo.[4] Ala-ed-din's grandson, Az-ed-din, the son of a Christian mother, was said by the bishop of Pisidia to have

[1] This chapter is reprinted, with some additions, from the *B.S.A.* xix, 191 ff.

[2] Hammer-Hellert, *Hist. Emp. Ott.* i, 31.

[3] Sarre, *Reise in Kleinasien*, pp. 39 f.

[4] C. Huart, *Konia*, pp. 214 f : see above, p. 168, n. 1.

been a Christian, and his sons, when at Constantinople, were admitted to the Sacrament.[1] Both Ala-ed-din and his house were therefore familiar with Christianity and, if not actively sympathetic to it, at least without prejudice against it.

Beside Ala-ed-din stands another striking figure, that of Jelal-ed-din, the mystic poet of Bokhara, who came to Konia in 1233 and is represented as a close and influential friend of the temporal ruler. Jelal-ed-din, with his friend and master in philosophy, Shems-ed-din of Tabriz (d. 1246), originated the order of dervishes known by the name of Mevlevi, who have throughout their history shown themselves humane and tolerant towards Christians and regard all religions as reconcilable on a philosophic basis.[2] Jelal-ed-din himself seems to have been acquainted with Greek [3] and to have assigned to Christ as a prophet a much higher position than his strictly orthodox Moslem contemporaries.[4] He appears, further, to have regarded himself specially as a missionary to the Greeks, and is reported by Eflaki to have said that 'God had a great regard for the Roman people' (*i.e. Rumi*, Ῥωμαῖοι), and, in answer to a prayer of Abu Bekr the first Caliph, made them 'a chief receptacle of his mercy': in the same passage the metrical poems and rhythmic dances of the Mevlevi are represented as devised to attract the mercurial temperament of the Greeks to Islam.[5] Several tales illustrating the

[1] Pachymeres, ii, 24; iv, 5; Hammer-Hellert, *op. cit.* i, 45–7; *cf.* Pears, *Destr. of Greek Empire*, p. 56.

[2] See especially Eliot, *Turkey in Europe*, p. 185; *cf.* Ramsay, *Revolution in Turkey*, p. 202.

[3] Gibb, *Ottoman Poetry*, i, 152; of Jelal-ed-din's son some rhyming Greek verses of a mystic-philosophic sort, written in the Persian character, have come down to us (Krumbacher, *Byz. Litteratur*, p. 811; Meyer, in *Byz. Zeit.* iv, 401).

[4] C. Field, *Mystics and Saints of Islam*, p. 205.

[5] *Acts of the Adepts* (1310–53), in Redhouse's translation of the *Mesnevi*, p. 27 (13).

success of the Mevlevi propaganda among Christians are related in Eflaki's collection.[1] Specially notable is the anecdote of the abbot of the 'monastery of Plato' (to which we shall return), whose reputation for learning extended to Constantinople, Trebizond, Sis, and the land of the Franks; Jelal-ed-din himself visited the monastery, and there spent seven days and seven nights sitting in a cold spring. At the end of this time he came out unharmed and walked away, singing a hymn, to the astonishment of all. The abbot 'made oath that all he had read about the person and qualities of the Messiah, as also in the books of Abraham and Moses, were found in Jelal, as well as the grandeur and mien of the prophets, and more besides'.[2] Two generations later, there lived in the same monastery an aged monk who had had similar relations with Jelal-ed-din and was visited by the dervishes of the neighbourhood. He told some of these that once, when Jelal-ed-din had spent forty days in meditation at the monastery, he had taken advantage of the occasion to ask him what was the advantage of Islam over Christianity, since the Koran said all men alike should come to hell fire. Jelal replied by putting the monk's cloak, wrapped in his own, into an oven: when they were taken out, the monk's was found to be scorched and charred by the fire, Jelal's only purified. The monk at once professed himself the disciple of Jelal.[3] From all this it seems clear that Jelal-ed-din, like his royal master, was conciliatory in his attitude towards Christianity and Christians.

In the previous chapter[4] I have pointed out that the old church of S. Amphilochius at Konia, transformed by the Turks into a mosque, was venerated by Moslems from the thirteenth century onwards as the burial-place

[1] *Acts of the Adepts* (1310–53), pp. 22 (7), 51 (33), 66 (53), 90 (85); the latter may refer to the conversion of *Καλοιωάννης*, the architect of the Blue *Medreseh* at Sivas.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 72 (63).

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 87 (81).

[4] *Cf.* also above, p. 17.

of 'Plato the divine Philosopher', while the Christian tradition, persisting despite the transformation of the church, still held that the grave in it was that of the Iconian bishop and saint Amphilochius. So late as the fifteenth century both religions shared in the ambiguous cult.[1]

The Moslem veneration of Plato at Konia, which is possibly to be traced to the influence of the Mevlevi dervishes, or even to that of Jelal-ed-din himself, may have been expressly intended as a cult which Christian and Mohammedan might share on equal terms. For the learned of both religions 'Plato' may be considered a philosophic abstraction, somewhat akin to Justinian's 'Holy Wisdom of God'; for the unlearned and superstitious Moslems he was a great magician and wonder worker; for the Greeks and Armenians he remained, in Konia at least, S. Amphilochius. The case for such a *rapprochement* between Islam and Christianity as seems implied by the cult of Plato will be materially strengthened if we can find other evidence of friendly relations between the Mevlevi and the Christians. A certain amount of tradition points in this direction.

In a rocky gorge an hour north of Konia stands the ancient Greek monastery of S. Chariton. The monastery[2] is enclosed on three sides by walls and on the fourth by a precipitous cliff. The enclosure contains three churches, all wholly or partially excavated in the rock. Beside them is a small mosque of similar construction. The mosque is simple and unobtrusive, a rectangular chamber with a plain prayer-niche (*mihrab*) cut in the rock. The Christians in charge of the monastery explain its presence by a legend that the son of Jelal-ed-din, falling, when hunting, from the cliff above the monastery,

[1] Khitrovo, *Itin. Russes*, p. 256.

[2] Niebuhr found it inhabited (*Reisebeschreibung*, iii, 119) and saw a stone with an inscription of Michael Comnenus (see below, p. 383).

was preserved from injury by a mysterious old man who was afterwards identified from the *eikon* in the church with S. Chariton. The miracle is still commemorated by a yearly present of oil[1] from the successors of Jelal-ed-din—the Superior of the Mevlevi order is always a descendant of the Founder—who, further, spend every year one night in prayer in the mosque.[2] Christian tradition thus represents Jelal-ed-din as at least half converted to Christianity by the miracle of S. Chariton. Mevlevi tradition, on the other hand, asserts that the abbot of the 'monastery of Plato' was converted by the miracles of Jelal-ed-din to his philosophy; the 'monastery of Plato' is evidently identical with S. Chariton's.[3]

We have thus found two originally Christian sanctuaries adapted for the veneration of both religions by the intrusion of the ambiguous 'Plato' figure. One of these compromises certainly (possibly both) is due to the Mevlevi dervishes. Is there a corresponding concession on the Moslem side?

In the great convent of the Mevlevi at Konia the

[1] The church of Sylata, a Greek village near Konia, receives a similar present of oil, and here, too, the practice is referred to the Seljuk period, the Greeks attributing it to Ala-ed-din himself (Pharasopoulos, *Τὰ Σύλατα*, p. 132) and the Mevlevi to Jelal-ed-din (from Sir Edwin Pears, who was so informed by the present Superior of the Mevlevi). A similar story is told by Lady Duff Gordon of Egypt, where Copts still give offerings to the family of Abu-l-Hajjaj, the local saint of Luxor, in commemoration of a Christian saint's appearance to a descendant of Abu-l-Hajjaj (*Letters from Egypt*, p. 283).

[2] Mr. Vassos Vaianos of Sylata informs me that the then Chelebi also made a grant of land to the monastery: the title-deeds were for some time at S. Michael's, Sylata, but are now lost. The 'cell of the *Dedes*' (underground) has Mohammedan inscriptions referring to the Mevlevi on its walls.

[3] *Acts of the Adepts*, p. 87 (81). The 'monastery of Plato' is here said to have been 'situated at the foot of a hill, with a cavern therein, from whence issued a stream of cold water'—evidently the *ayasma* of S. Chariton.

founder, Jelal-ed-din 'el Rumi', lies buried. His tomb is a place of pilgrimage for pious Mohammedans and especially for members of the Mevlevi order. Beside it is another tomb of which a curious legend is told. It is said to be that of a Christian who gave Jelal-ed-din such proofs of friendship and faithful service that the latter insisted that they should be buried side by side. There are at least three variant traditions as to the personality of the faithful friend. An Armenian version, told two hundred years ago to Paul Lucas, represents him as a bishop and even gives his name, Efsepi (Eusebius).[1] The Greek version states that he was the abbot of S. Chariton,[2] on whose relations with Jelal-ed-din we have remarked above. The Mevlevi themselves say that the second tomb contains a Christian monk converted by Jelal-ed-din.[3] Thus the essential part of the legend, *i.e.* that a Christian ecclesiastic is buried beside Jelal-ed-din, is acknowledged by all parties. Whether in point of fact the supposed tomb is indeed such may be questioned. It may well be a cenotaph which has come to be regarded as a tomb. In this case we can point to a modern parallel of some interest. In the convent of the Mevlevi at Canea (Crete), founded only forty years ago, are two saints' tombs, side by side and exactly

[1] Lucas, *Voyage dans la Grèce*, i, 151. The legend is referred to also by other writers (J. Pardoe, *City of the Sultans*, i, 52; Macarius, *Travels*, tr. Belfour, p. 8).

[2] Orally in 1913 from Prodromos Petrides; the abbot of S. Chariton is introduced in the version of Levides (*Μοναὶ τῆς Καππαδοκίας*, pp. 156 f.): *cf.* N. Rizos, *Καππαδοκικά*, p. 130. Both probably owe something to the *Περιγραφή* of the Archbishop Cyril, who says (p. 42): *πλησίον τοῦ ἰδίου Μεβλᾶ* [*i.e.* Mevlana = Jelal-ed-Din] *εἶναι καὶ μνῆμα ἑνὸς καλογέρου ἡγουμένου τοῦ Ἄκ Μοναστηρίου* [White Monastery,' the modern Turkish name of S. Chariton's] . . . *ταφέντος ἐκεῖ κατὰ διάταξιν τοῦ ἰδίου ὑπεραγαπῶντος αὐτόν, ἐφ' ᾧ ἔκειτο καὶ μεχρὶ τινὸς μαῦρον καλογηρικὸν σκέπασμα, τὸ ὁποῖον ἀπὸ χρόνων σχεδὸν τριάκοντα μετέβαλον εἰς ἄλλο χρῶμα, διὰ νὰ μὴ γνωρίζεται.*

[3] On the spot through Prodromos Petrides.

similar in outward appearance. One of these is that of the founder, the other admittedly a cenotaph erected by the terms of the latter's will to commemorate his revered teacher.[1] Similarly, at Konia Jelal-ed-din may have intended what is now called the 'tomb of the monk' rather as a commemorative monument to his honoured friend; and this would be quite in keeping with their traditional relations.

Whether the legend or any part of it is true or not, we have here to all appearance the compromise on the Moslem side we have sought. For a third time an Iconian sanctuary is artificially rendered accessible to Christian and Moslem at once: the sanctuary is in this case the centre of the Mevlevi dervishes, the tomb-chamber of their Founder himself.

Second only to Jelal-ed-din in the veneration of the Mevlevi of Konia is Shems-ed-din of Tabriz, who lies in a much humbler mausoleum in a different quarter of the town.[2] This also has been a celebrated shrine. Schiltberger, one of the Christian prisoners of the battle of Nicopolis (1396), notes it alone of all the wonders of Konia. In 'a city called Könia', says he, 'lies the saint, Schenisis, who was first an Infidel priest, and was secretly baptised; and when his end approached, received from an Armenian priest the body of God in an apple'.[3] This legend, rendering needless a second tomb, has the same effect as that of the central convent. Moslems could visit and venerate the tomb of Shems-ed-din, the dervish philosopher, while Christians saw in the same person a holy man who, born in darkness, had at length turned to the light, and as proof of his sanctity wrought mighty works after his death.

We have thus found in Konia the temporal capital of

[1] F. W. H.

[2] The authenticity of the tomb seems somewhat doubtful (see Eflaki, in Redhouse's *Mesnevi*, pp. 108 f. and preface, p. x).

[3] Hakluyt Society's edition, p. 40.

the Seljluk dynasty and the spiritual centre of the Mevlevi dervishes, four sanctuaries which might be visited without violence to conscience by Christian and Mohammedan alike. We have found also in Ala-ed-din an enlightened and liberal monarch with no bias against Christianity, in Jelal-ed-din a philosophic mystic with Christian leanings, and in the abbot of S. Chariton—if he is historical—a Christian ecclesiastic evidently attracted by the spiritual personality of Jelal-ed-din.

To Ala-ed-din politically, as to the Mevlevi philosophically, the assimilation of Christian and Moslem was desirable. The Greek Church, here in central Asia Minor, was spiritually at a low ebb during the period in question.[1] It seems, therefore, possible that some sort of religious compromise on a philosophic basis was devised between Ala-ed-din, Jelal-ed-din, and the local Christian clergy, and deliberately fostered by some or all of these parties.

The idea is not without parallels elsewhere: Akbar, the Mogul emperor of India, an enlightened ruler and a philosopher, made in his time a somewhat similar attempt to reconcile the various creeds of his subjects.[2] The movement at Konia may be regarded as a local and artificially accentuated manifestation of ideas widely current in the mystic heterodoxies of Islam, which would find great scope among the heterogeneous, and in religion primitive or degraded, population of medieval Asia Minor. Similar ideas of religious fusion formed in the fifteenth century the motive-power of the rebellion of Bedr-ed-din of Simav [3] and are to some extent potent to-day among the Bektashi sect in Albania, whose doctrines and organization seem to have been used for

[1] For the diocese of Iconium about this period see Wächter, *Verfall des Griechentums*, pp. 16–18.

[2] Bonet Maury, in *Rev. Hist. Relig.* xi, 152 ff., li, 153 ff.

[3] See below, pp. 568–9.

political purposes by Ali Pasha of Yannina.[1] Such religions in countries of mixed population cater alike for the educated and the ignorant, providing for the former a philosophic standpoint, for the latter a full measure of mystery and superstition, and for all alike a convenient compromise and a basis of mutual toleration.

[1] See below, pp. 586–92 and reff.

XXVII

THE INSCRIPTIONS OF S. CHARITON'S

THE following inscriptions from the monastery of S. Chariton near Konia are here published from the texts given in the extremely rare pamphlet of the patriarch Cyril VI on the province of Konia,[1] of which the Archaeological Society of Athens is fortunate enough to possess a complete copy. Of the author a short notice, to which nothing material seems to have been added by recent investigators, is given by Papadopoulos-Vretos.[2] He was born at Adrianople about 1750, became Archdeacon of the Patriarchate, and subsequently (after 1802) Metropolitan of Iconium and of Adrianople. In 1813, on the resignation of Jeremias IV, he was elected Patriarch as Cyril VI. In 1819, in consequence of an intrigue, he was deposed in favour of Gregory V and retired to his native town, where he was hung by the Turks at the outbreak of the Greek Revolution in June 1821. The map of the province of Iconium, to which the *Description* forms a supplement, was published in 1812 at Vienna.[3] It was reproduced on a smaller scale by Kiepert.[4]

The monastery of S. Chariton, near Konia, is de-

[1] *Ἱστορικὴ Περιγραφὴ τοῦ ἐν Βιέννῃ προεκδοθέντος χωρογραφικοῦ πίνακος τῆς μεγάλης Ἀρχισατραπίας Ἰκονίου. Νῦν πρῶτον τύποις ἐκδοθεῖσα. Ἐν τῷ Πατριαρχικῷ Τυπογραφείῳ. Ἐν ἔτει* 1815, sm. 8vo, pp. 73, of which the last seven (67–73 inclusive) are devoted to a (not very valuable) *Περιγραφὴ τῆς Ἀδριανουπόλεως καί τινων τῶν πέριξ τῆς Θράκης μέρων.*

[2] For A. Papadopoulos-Vretos see Sathas, *Νεοελληνικὴ Φιλολογία*, pp. 212 f. For Cyril *cf.* Sathas, *op. cit.*, p. 678, and Z. Mathas, *Κατάλογος Πατριάρχων*, Athens, 1884, p. 166 (Nauplia, 1837, p. 276).

[3] *Πίναξ χωρογραφικὸς τῆς μεγάλης Ἀρχισατραπίας Ἰκονίου, ἐν Βιέννῃ*, 1812.

[4] *Memoir über die Karte von Kleinasien*, pl. iii and pp. 180 ff.

scribed by Ramsay [1] and recently by myself.[2] Cyril's description is as follows :

'Among the hills near Sylata, in a ravine about an hour east of the latter and about an hour west of Konia, is the monastery of S. Chariton the Confessor, called in Turkish *Ak Monastir* ['White Monastery'] from the hills of white stone which surround it, a foundation of S. Chariton. The monastery possesses a church dedicated to the Most Holy Mother of God of the Cave, spacious and hewn out of the rock like a cave ; also all the cells and chapels, six or seven in all,[3] are rock-hewn caves : the door of the church is to the south. . . . Outside the enclosure is the Sacred Well below the level of the earth, which the Blessed Chariton excavated by a miracle from a sheer rock.[4] In front of the monastery are gardens and vineyards.' [5]

The memory of S. Chariton is celebrated by the Greek church on September 28. According to the *Synaxaria* he was a native of Iconium, who lived in the time of Aurelian as a hermit in Palestine, where he died at an advanced age. A cave church founded by him was shown at a *lavra* called Pharan. Amongst other miracles he is recorded to have brought 'clear water out of a sheer rock' (ἐξ ἀκροτόμου πέτρας ὕδωρ διαυγὲς ἐξενεγκών). The scene of this miracle is not recorded, but it is evidently conceived of on the lines of the striking of the rock by Moses. It does not suit the '*Ayasma* of S. Chariton' at Konia, which is a well some depth below the surface and approached by a flight of steps. The difficulty is realized by Cyril, who slightly twists the words of the *Synaxaria* (ἀνώρυξεν ἐξ ἀκροτόμου λίθου) [6] to fit the Iconian monastery, which is probably a colony from Palestine.

[1] *Pauline Studies*, p. 188 ; *cf. Cities of St. Paul*, p. 375.

[2] In *B.S.A.* xix, 193 ff. with a photograph : reprinted above, pp. 373 ff.

[3] There are now two, dedicated to S. Sabbas and S. Amphilochius.

[4] ἀνώρυξεν ἐξ ἀκροτόμου λίθου.

[5] Περιγραφή, pp. 45–7.

[6] λίθου for πέτρας.

The inscriptions existing in Cyril's time at the monastery of S. Chariton [1] are as follows :

I. Over the door of the church outside : [2]

Μεγάλη ἐστὶν ἡ δόξα τοῦ οἴκου τούτου ἡ ἐσχάτη ὑπὲρ τὴν πρώτην. πόνημα Μάρκου μοναχοῦ. ἐν ἔτει ,ϛφος, ἰνδικτιῶνος ἑβδόμης.

The year of the world 6576 = A.D. 1067–8 ; the seventh indiction places our inscription in 1067. Konia was not taken by the Seljuks till 1086. If, as we suspect, S. Chariton of Konia was a foundation from Palestine, the date is explicable as that of a time of exodus from Palestine of monks driven out by Saracen oppression : this movement was the cause of the foundation of the monastic colonies of Latmus and, probably, Athos. A monk Mark is known to have been abbot of S. Sabbas about this time,[3] but the name is not enough to make good the connexion. The wording of the inscription [4] is evidently influenced by the prophecy of the second temple, saying, ' the glory of this latter house shall be greater than of the former '. [5]

II. Above the same door, inside : [6]

Τίνος τὸ ἔργον ; τὸ γράμμα οὐ λέγω, θεὸς γὰρ οἶδεν ὁ ἐρευνῶν καρδίας, ἀνεκαινίσθη, καὶ καλλιεργήθη ὁ πάνσεπτος Ναὸς τῆς ὑπεραγίας Δεσποίνης ἡμῶν Θεοτόκου καὶ ἀειπαρθένου Μαρίας, τῆς ἐπιλεγομένης Σπηλαιωτίσσης, πατριαρχοῦντος τοῦ οἰκουμενικοῦ πατριάρχου κυροῦ Γρηγορίου, καὶ ἐπὶ Βασιλείου τοῦ εὐσεβεστάτου Βασιλέως καὶ Αὐτοκράτορος Ῥωμαίων κυροῦ Ἀνδρονίκου, ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις Βασιλεύοντος μεγαλογένους Μεγάλου Σουλτὰν Μαχσοῦτι τοῦ Καϊκαούση καὶ Αὐθέντου ἡμῶν,

[1] They are given *Περιγραφή*, pp. 46–7. Nos. 1–4 are also given, evidently after Cyril's copies, by N. S. Rizos, *Καππαδοκικά*, pp. 132 ff.

[2] *ἐπ' αὐτὴν [sc. τὴν πύλην] ἔξωθέν εἰσι γεγραμμένα ἐν λίθῳ τάδε.*

[3] See Krumbacher, *Byz. Litteratur*, p. 154.

[4] Given by Rizos, p. 132. [5] *Haggai*, ii, 9.

[6] *Ἔσωθεν ἐπάνω τῆς αὐτῆς πύλης.* The inscription is given by Rizos, p. 133.

ἔτους ,ϛψηζ, ἰνδικτ. β. ὑπόμνημα Ματθαίου ἱερομονάχου καὶ τάχα Ἡγουμένου.

The year of the world 6797, indiction 2, corresponds to A.D. 1289. Of the potentates mentioned, the patriarch Gregory (II) reigned from 1283 to 1289,[1] the emperor Andronicus (II) from 1282 to 1332, and the sultan of Konia, Masud, son of Izz-ed-din Karkaus II, from 1283 to 1294.[2] The relations between Christianity and Islam under the Seljuks of Konia were very friendly.[3] The Greeks were to know no such liberty in church building as this till the reign of the reforming sultan Mahmud II (1808–39), in whose reign we find again church inscriptions recording the Christian bishop and Turkish sultan.[4]

III. 'The grave of this abbot lies outside the same door of the church, on the right as you go in, near the wall, buried in the earth.' [5]

Ἔνθαδε κεῖται τῶν Μοναστῶν τὸ κλέος, ἀειμνήστου κτίτορος κύρου Ματθαίου, καὶ καθηγουμένου τε τῆς μονῆς ταύτης. ἐν ἔτει ,ϛωϛ, ἰνδικτιῶνος ια΄ Νοεμβρίου α΄.

The date (6806, indiction 1) is A.D. 1298. *Κτίτωρ* is used, as often on Athos,[6] in the secondary sense of restorer or considerable benefactor, the monastery of S. Chariton having been founded, as we have seen, much earlier.

IV. 'Within the church opposite the door towards the

[1] On him see Krumbacher, *op. cit.*, p. 98.

[2] Huart, *Konia*, p. 247.

[3] See above, pp. 370 ff.

[4] *e.g.* my article 'Bithynica', in *B.S.A.* xiii, 294.

[5] *Τοῦ ὁποίου Ἡγουμένου τὸ μνῆμα κεῖται ἔξωθεν τῆς αὐτῆς πύλης τοῦ ναοῦ ἐκ δεξίων εἰσιοῦσι πλησίον τοῦ τοίχου κεχωσμένον εἰς τὴν γῆν.* Rizos gives the inscription, p. 133.

[6] See F. W. Hasluck, *Athos*, pp. 61–2.

west, is a grave in the floor, on which is a marble sarcophagus with the following inscription : '[1]

'Ενταῦθα κεῖται πορφυρογεννήτων γόνος Μιχαὴλ 'Αμιρασχάνης, ἔγγων τοῦ πανευγενεστάτου δισεγγόνου τῶν ἀθλίμων πορφυρογεννήτων Βασιλέων κυρίου 'Ιωάννου Κομνηνοῦ ἐν ἔτει ,ϛωϛ, ἰνδικτ. ια' μηνὶ Νοεμ. α'.

This inscription still survives and good texts have been published by Sterrett [2] and Cumont,[3] which show that our archbishop was but an indifferent copyist. The person mentioned in the inscription was a descendant of the royal house of Trebizond, who died in exile at the court of Konia in 1297.

V. 'In the left aisle of the church, near the northern door of the screen in the wall of the *προσκομιδή* outside, is another sarcophagus with these letters : '[4]

'Ενταῦθα κεῖται εὐγενεστάτων εἰκών, καθαρόν τε λέγω τοῦ μακαρίτου, εἰκὼν δὲ τρισμάκαρος "Αχη[5] *παγκάλου υἱοῦ δὲ πανευγενοῦς.*

It seems impossible to get much from this text containing neither name nor date. Omissions seem to have occurred in Cyril's copy.

VI. A sixth inscription from S. Chariton is given by Sterrett in his *Epigraphical Journey* [6] from a copy by Diamantides.

[1] *"Ενδον τοῦ ναοῦ ἀντικρὺ τῆς πύλης πρὸς δύσιν, ἐν τῷ ἐδάφει τῆς γῆς εἶναι μνῆμα, καὶ ἐπ' αὐτῷ μάρμαρον ὡς κιβούριον.* For this use of *κιβούριον* (ciborium) see Du Cange, *Glossarium, s.v. ciborium.*

[2] *Epig. Jour.*, no. 229, from a copy by Diamantides : see also Grégoire, in *Rev. Instr. Pub. Belg.* lii (1909), p. 13.

[3] In *Byz. Zeit.* iv (1895), pp. 99–105, from a new copy by Diamantides and a photograph. It is also found in Rizos, *op. cit.*, p. 133.

[4] *"Ετι εἰς τὸν ἀριστερὸν χορὸν τοῦ ναοῦ πλησίον τῆς βορείας πύλης τοῦ ἱεροῦ βήματος εἰς τόν τοῖχον τῆς προσκομιδῆς ἔξωθεν ἕτερον κιβούριον μὲ γράμματα τάδε.*

[5] For *"Αχη* see Karabashek, in *Num. Zeit.* ix (1877), p. 213 (quoting Ibn Batuta), further below, p. 506, n. 3.

[6] No. 243.

XXVIII

THE BLESSING OF THE WATERS

THE annual Blessing of the Waters at Epiphany, known to the Orthodox Church as the Great Consecration (*Μέγας Ἁγιασμός*), is one of the most picturesque rites of modern Greece. The ceremony, which takes place in the open air, has been well and fully described in Miss Mary Hamilton's book, *Greek Saints*.[1] The officiating priest plunges a cross into the sea, a river, or even a cistern, according to the locality, and, taking it out wet and dripping, sprinkles the bystanders. In some places the cross is thrown in bodily and retrieved by one of the bystanders. The first person to touch the cross after its immersion is considered particularly lucky. After the official blessing the water is held to have beneficent power and the bystanders drink or wash in it. The sea and waters in general are consecrated by the ceremony for the ensuing year. In seaports this has a peculiar importance for shipping and seafarers, and in former times even Turks did not venture to put to sea until the waters had received their (Christian) blessing.[2]

In 1915 a hitch in the procedings at Levkas caused considerable consternation. The cross thrown into the water stuck in the sand and could not be retrieved :

[1] Pp. 112 ff.

[2] Busbecq, *Lettres* (Paris, 1748), ii, 110. Two doves are released at Athens as the cross is thrown into the water. This liberation of birds at church festivals is widespread : in Brittany the *Pardon des Oiseaux* is the festival of S. Jean du Doigt, when various birds are released (see, *e.g.*, Quetteville, *Pardon of Guingamp*, pp. 365 ff.); in Russia it is pious to loose birds at the Annunciation (Romanoff, *Rites of the Greco-Russian Church*, p. 125) ; *cf.* also the Roman custom at the feast of SS. Philip and James (Tuker and Malleson, *Christian and Ecclesiastical Rome*, i, 187). It is scarcely necessary to say that in these cases the symbolism is not the same as in the Greek Blessing of the Waters.

this was considered a presage of great disasters in the ensuing year, and it was particularly noted that the ceremony had no effect on the storm which was raging at the time of its performance.[1]

Miss Hamilton makes a gallant attempt [2] to show that the Greek ceremony is a rain-charm and hints at a classical survival. It is true that the elements of the forms used, the immersion of a sacred object and the wetting of the persons assisting at the ceremony, are used as rain-charms both in Greece and elsewhere. But the supposed allusions to rainfall in the songs quoted in support of the theory rest on mistranslation alone. The first song quoted (from Imbros) expresses the quite orthodox idea of consecrating springs and waters; the second, also from Imbros, refers only to dew; the third, which in the translation appears the strongest proof of all, refers not to rain, but merely to 'wetting', which is an ordinary use of the transitive verb *βρέχω*.[3]

So far from the ceremony being even remotely a classical survival or peculiar to Greece, it is matched in nearly every detail by the corresponding Armenian ceremony. The latter is thus described by Struys, a Dutch traveller of the seventeenth century, who witnessed it at Shamakh:

[1] *Πατρίς*, 7 Jan. 1925: *Συνεπείᾳ τοῦ γεγονότος τούτου προεκλήθη εὔλογος συγκίνησις καθ' ὅλην τὴν Λευκάδα, ἰδιαιτέρως δὲ οἱ θρησκόληπτοι καὶ δεισιδαίμονες χαρακτηρίζουν τὸ πρᾶγμα ὡς προοιωνίζον μεγάλας καταστροφάς, τρομερὰ ἀτυχήματα. . . . Χαρακτηριστικὴ διὰ τὴν ἀπαισιοδοξίαν καὶ ἀπελπισίαν ἡ ὁποία ἔχει καταλάβει τοὺς προληπτικούς, εἶνε καὶ ἡ παρατήρησίς των, ὅτι, καὶ μετὰ τὸν ἁγιασμόν, ἡ θάλασσα ἐξακολουθεῖ νὰ φαίνεται ταραγμένη.*

[2] *Op. cit.*, pp. 119 ff.

[3] P. 127, [*μία πέρδικα*] . . . *βρέχει τὸν ἀφέντη καὶ πάλιν ξαναβρέχεται καὶ βρέχει τὴν κυρά της, καὶ πάλιν ξαναβρέχεται καὶ βρέχει τὰ φτερά της*, which Miss Hamilton translates: 'It sent rain down on the Lord, and again it rained and rained on our Lady, and again it rained and rained on its wings'. The true rendering is 'it [the partridge] *wetted* (*i.e.* sprinkled with water) our Lord, and again *wetted itself* and *wetted* our Lady, and again *wetted itself* and *wetted* its wings.'

'L'Evêque commence par chanter la Masse plus matin que du coutume; puis il fait un sermon sur un Texte pris dans L'Evangile de ce jour ; à la fin duquel il annonce la bénédiction de la Riviére qu'on appelle *Chatsche Schuran.*[1] Pendant le sermon de l'Evêque, tous les Arméniens du Pays se rendent autour du lieu où se doit célébrer la Fête, avec la Croix & la banniére . . . [L'Evêque] fit un signe auquel des Arméniens tous nus sautérent sur la glace & la rompirent en plusieurs endroits, pendant que l'Eveque s'amusoit à lire & le peuple à chanter des Himnes, des Pseaumes, & des Cantiques. Lorsque la glace fut rompuë, le peuple se tut, & l'on entendit le son des cloches, des cimbales & des trompettes, durant lequel l'Evêque avança vers l'endroit où l'eau paroissoit ; & après y avoir répandu de l'huile bénîte, il la bénit avec une Croix enrichie de pierres précieuses & pour confirmer la bénédiction il la plongea par trois fois dans l'eau, fit la même chose avec sa Croce, & dit ensuite quelques priéres qui ne durérent pas long-temps. A peine les eut-il finies que le peuple accourut en foule, les uns pour boire de cette eau, & les autres pour s'en laver les piés, les mains, & le visage. Et comme il y en a partout d'une dévotion singuliére, plusieurs se dépouillérent, & sautérent tous nus dans l'eau, le zéle & la ferveur les empêchant de sentir le froid qui étoit extreme.'[2]

The Armenian ceremony is also described by Tavernier, though by some misconception he places it on Christmas Day. His account is as follows :

'Then in all the Cities and Villages where the *Armenians* live,

[1] 'Nous croyons que ce mot devrait se transcrire plus exactement *khatche tchrouin* qui veut dire *croix de l'eau, ou faite sur l'eau*, signe distinctif de cette cérémonie' (Note by E. Boré in *L'Arménie*, vol. ii of Chopin's *Russie* in the *L'Univers* Series, p. 134). Boré thought the ceremony peculiar to the Armenian Church.

[2] Struys, *Voyages*, pp. 245 f. The Armenian ceremony at Constantinople is mentioned by A. Galland, *Journal*, i, 31. There is a picturesque account of the Blessing at Moscow in *The Voyage of Osep Napea* (1557), in Hakluyt's edition. Mrs. Bishop (*Journeys in Persia*, ii, 312) describes the Nestorian Epiphany, Vaujany (*Caire*, p. 332) the Coptic, and della Valle (*Voyages*, iv, 370) the Persian 'Aspersion of Water' on 5 July, which may be a derivative from the Christian Epiphany. In Albania Miss Durham saw sheaves, evidently firstfruit sheaves, dipped in the water (*Burden of the Balkans*, p. 124).

if there be any River or Pond, they make ready two or three flat bottom'd Boats, spread with carpets to walk upon; in one of which upon *Christmas day* they set up a kind of an altar. In the morning by Sunrising all the *Armenian* clergy, as well of that place as of the parts adjoining, get into the Boats in their Habits, with the Cross and Banner. Then they dip the Cross in the water three times, and every time they drop the Holy Oyl upon it. After that they go through the Ordinary form of Baptism.'[1]

To students of the Holy Land, but not to those interested in Greece, it is probably a commonplace that almost all the details of the Greek and Armenian ceremonies are derived from the very early celebration of the Baptism of Christ Himself at the River Jordan. Antoninus of Piacenza, a sixth-century pilgrim, describes the Epiphany ceremony at the Jordan at some length, not omitting some miraculous occurrences which he, in common with other devout pilgrims, doubtless believed he saw.[2] The following is a rough translation of Antoninus' execrable Latin:

'On Epiphany Eve a great service is held attended by countless people, and at the fourth or fifth cockcrow the vigil is celebrated. After Matins, at the first sign of daybreak, the congregation rises and the service is continued in the open air. The priest, supported by his deacons, descends into the river and, as soon as he begins to bless the water, the Jordan, roaring mightily, returns upon itself, the water above the place of blessing piles up, and the water below runs down to the sea, according to the words of the Psalmist, *The sea saw and fled, Jordan was driven back*.[3] All the Alexandrians who have ships send men on that day with pails[4] full of perfumes and balsam, and at the time when the water is blessed, before the baptism begins, they plunge these pails into the river and take of the consecrated water to use for asperging their ships before they put to sea.[5]

[1] *Voyages*, pp. 171 f.

[2] Ed. Geyer, *Itin. Hieros.*, p. 200 (ed. Tobler, p. 15, xi).

[3] Ps. cxiv, 3.

[4] MSS. *colaphos*, obviously for *calathos*.

[5] Curiously, Jordan water was considered unlucky on board ship, at least by western pilgrims; *cf.* Fabri, *Evagat.* ii, 36, 43, and Füsslein, *ap.* Mirike, *Reise*, p. 221.

When the baptism is finished, every one goes down into the river for a blessing, wearing shrouds and other garments of all sorts which are to serve for their burial.[1] When all this has been done, the water returns into its own bed.'

The Greek and Armenian Epiphany ceremonies thus derive directly from a common source in Palestine, the fountain-head of the Christian religion. For the study of all such antiquities the principle here involved is important and too often neglected. In Greece particularly it has been kept in the background by the more fashionable idea of classical survival. A typical instance is the supposed equation of S. Elias to Helios.[2] The occupation of nearly every conspicuous height in Greece by chapels of S. Elias does not imply that the saint replaces Helios, though the arguments brought forward to support the theory are most ingenious. The prototype of the mountain dedicated to Elias is to be found at Carmel in Palestine, and the Elias of the Old Testament is a rain-making saint. No further explanation is needed. Of the mountains in Greece not dedicated to Elias a large majority, including, *e.g.*, Mt. Athos,[3] are dedicated to the Transfiguration. Here, again, the connexion with the Bible story and Palestine is obvious. A further instance of a slightly different sort is that of S. Nicolas, the sea-saint of Orthodoxy,[4] who, despite the attempt to represent him as a survival of Artemis,[5] owes his vogue among seafarers simply and solely to the

[1] The cheap printed cotton shrouds sold for this purpose at Jerusalem are well known to all tourists: according to Tobler (*Topogr. von Jerusalem*, ii, 706) they were already mentioned by Antoninus of Piacenza. Mohammedans similarly wet their grave clothes in the water of the well of Zem-Zem at Mecca (Burckhardt, *Arabia*, i, 276). For the Kerbela practice see Cuinet, *Turquie d'Asie*, iii, 202.

[2] See further above, p. 320, n. 3.

[3] Wrong in Hasluck, *Athos*, p. 19, n. 1.

[4] The Athos *Guide to Painting* ascribes no sea miracles to him (Didron, *Iconographie Chrétienne*, pp. 365–8).

[5] Anichkof in *Folk-Lore*, v, 108–120.

position of the church on a dangerous coast passed by every pilgrim ship from Constantinople or the West on its way to the Holy Land.[1] The local coincidence has here made a bishop as at Sinope a gardener (S. Phocas),[2] and at Pelusium a monk (S. Isidore),[3] all landsmen, into sea-saints, while S. Peter the fisherman and S. Paul the seafarer receive no special honour from mariners. S. Michael in Symi[4] or S. George at Herakleia Perinthos[5] may also from the position of their churches develop a reputation as sea-saviours. The personality of the saint is of very small importance as compared with his own position as the chief saint of a seafaring population, or with that of his church, on a site conspicuous from the sea or near a well-known point of danger.

What is true of ceremonies and cults is true also of buildings and superstitions. The church of the Sepulchre and the Mosque of Omar in the Holy City have left their mark even on western Europe in the 'round churches' of the Templars.[6] The 'sweating column' of S. Sophia's[7] is a parody of the miracle in S. Helen's Chapel at Jerusalem.[8] The Greek Church has at all

[1] See above, p. 350.

[2] On the cult of S. Phocas see Radermacher, in *Archiv f. Religionsw.* vii, 445 ff.

[3] The frequency of capes dedicated to S. Isidore (*e.g.* the eastern point of Crete) shows he was a favourite saint with sailors, presumably Egyptians. Whether S. Isidore of Pelusium is meant or S. Isidore of Alexandria (and Chios), a soldier, is immaterial.

[4] Dawkins, in *Emmanuel Coll. Mag.* xviii, 18 ff.; *cf.* Michaelides, *Καρπ. Ἄισματα*, p. 22. See also above, p. 344.

[5] Covel, *Diaries*, p. 277: 'The chief thing he is famed for is the deliverance of poor mariners, and in the church was hang'd up to him infinities of *ἀναθήματα*, dedicated by poor creatures which had escaped shipwreck; most are little short pieces of halsers or cables or smal ropes, having one end tipt with silver.' [6] Hasluck, *Letters*, App.

[7] See Antony of Novgorod in Khitrovo's *Itin. Russes*, p. 90; Sandys's *Travels*, p. 25; Aaron Hill, *Ottoman Empire*, p. 138; Einsler in *Z.D.P.V.* xvii, 303.

[8] Fabri, *Evagat.* i, 293. Similarly, the legend of the chain of Khoja

times been in more or less close touch with the Holy Land. The pilgrimage thither, though not held, except among the Russians, of such spiritual importance as the pilgrimage to Mecca among Mohammedans, has nevertheless exercised a great influence on the lay population. In religious ceremonies, cults, buildings, and superstitions alike the connexion between the Orthodox world and Palestine is much stronger and more unbroken than that between the Orthodox world and classical antiquity. It has not been affected by ethnological changes and it has been fostered, not discouraged, by the clergy. In all such questions of *origines*, therefore, parallels should be sought first in the Holy Land and the way thither.[1]

Mustafa Jamisi, Constantinople (for which see Carnoy and Nicolaides, *Folklore de Constantinople*, p. 112; Polites, *Παραδόσεις*, no. 28; van Millingen, *Churches in Constant.*, p. 107) comes, under Mohammedan, not Christian influence, from Jerusalem (*cf.* Besant and Palmer, *Jerusalem*, 1908, p. 469; Le Strange, *Palestine*, pp. 151 ff.).

[1] Lucius (*Anfänge des Heiligenk.*, App. I, p. 507) remarks instructively on the small number of new ideas in religion.

XXIX

'THE FORTY' [1]

IN Turkish geographical nomenclature certain 'round' numbers are regularly employed in an arbitrary sense. Most important of these are 'a thousand and one' (*bin bir*), used to express the idea of 'countless', and 'forty' (*kirk*), which is similarly used for 'numerous'.[2] As examples of the first may be cited the well-known 'thousand-and-one-column' (*Bin Bir Direk*) cistern at Constantinople and the 'Thousand and one Churches' (*Bin Bir Kilise*) in Lycaonia. For the second we may instance several rivers called Kirk Gechid ('Forty Fords', in Greek Sarandáporos), the town Kirk Agach ('Forty Trees'), springs called Kirk Gueuz ('Forty Eyes'), districts called Kirk In, Kirk Er ('Forty Caves') and numerous others.

Side by side with names like the foregoing, which explain themselves if we read 'numerous' for 'forty', we find certain localities denominated simply 'the Forty' (Tk. *Kirklar*,[3] Gr. *Saránda*).[4] They are especially

[1] This chapter is reprinted with additions from *B.S.A.* xix, 221 ff.

[2] Numbers below forty, with the curious exception of five (*cf.* Walpole, *Travels*, p. 205; Arundell, *Asia Minor*, i, 75), generally keep their strict numerical value. 'Five' therefore seems to signify 'several', 'two or three'; 'forty' estimates a number greater than the *eye* counts naturally, while 'a thousand and one' implies a number beyond counting altogether. Arabs call the centipede the 'mother of forty-four legs' (Jessup, *Women of the Arabs*, p. 267).

[3] *Kirklar* is shown by the plural termination to be a substantive, not an adjective.

[4] For numbers other than forty used as place-names *cf.* *Dokuz* ('nine') near Konia (Huart, *Konia*, p. 126), where we happen to know that the full name is *Dokuz Hani Dervend* ('Post of the Nine Houses'). *Trianda* (τὰ Τριάκοντα, Ducas, p. 193 B), between Ephesus and Smyrna, is usually interpreted as commemorating the thirtieth

common in Pontus [1] but occur also elsewhere, as *e.g.* in Mysia, where there are at least two villages called Kirklar,[2] and in Caria, where the name is applied to a site with ruins of a church near the ancient Loryma [3] and to an ancient tomb east of Knidos.[4] Similarly mysterious are names like Kirklar Dagh ('Mountain of the Forty', not 'Forty Mountains') which, like the foregoing, imply an association with forty persons. These 'forties' call for explanation.

We have particularly to take into account the mystical associations of 'forty' in Turkey and the Near East. Both in profane and sacred connexions the number forty (days, &c.) and groups of forty (persons, &c.) meet us at every turn. As to the first, in Turkish folk-tales the hero's wedding-feast regularly lasts 'forty days and forty nights'. The 'forty days' after child-birth,[5] after marriage,[6] and after death,[7] are critical periods, and during the 'forty days' between November 27 and January 5 evil spirits are unusually active.[8] Robbers, ogres, *jinns*, and *peris* go about in bands of forty,[9] and the number appears again and again in magic prescriptions.[10]

milestone on the Roman road, but it should be remarked that there is a village of the same name in Rhodes, where this explanation is obviously impossible.

[1] Grégoire in *B.C.H.* 1909, p. 27; Jerphanion in *Mél. Fac. Or.* (Beyrut), 1911, p. xxxviii.

[2] (1) Near Pergamon and (2) west of Balia (Philippson, *Karte des W. Kleinasiens*); the latter is an old site (Philippson, *Reisen und Forschungen*, i, 36).

[3] Chaviaras in *Παρνασσός*, xiv, 537 ff.

[4] Halliday in *Folk-Lore*, xxiii, 218.

[5] Carnoy and Nicolaides, *Trad. de l'Asie Mineure*, pp. 308–310.

[6] *Ibid.*, p. 315. [7] *Ibid.*, p. 324. [8] *Ibid.*, p. 305.

[9] Two references to Kunos' *Türkische Volksmärchen aus Adakale* (pp. 84, 90), which I owe to Mr. Halliday, go far to prove that 'the Forty' without further definition are recognized in Turkish folk-lore as a band of spirits.

[10] *Cf.*, *e.g.*, Abbott, *Macedonian Folklore*, p. 229 (forty paces); [Blunt], *People of Turkey*, ii, 257 (candle made from the fat of forty children);

In the religious lore both of Christian and Mohammedan the same number constantly recurs. The great fasts of the Christians are of forty days, dervishes of the Khalveti order likewise practise fasting and mortification for periods of forty days,[1] the noviciate of the Mevlevi dervishes (a thousand and one days) is divided into periods of forty days.[2] There are forty Traditions of Mohammed [3] and so on.[4] As regards persons, again, we find in religion, corresponding to the secular groups of forty ogres, forty *jinns*, &c., numerous groups of forty saints. On the Christian side the most important are the Forty Martyrs of Sebaste [5] (Sivas), who met their death in a lake, still shown in the sixteenth century,[6] near the town. Remains of the bath associated with their martyrdom are pointed out at the present day,[7] as are their reputed graves in an Armenian cemetery.[8]

d'Ohsson, *Tableau*, i, 240 (carrying a corpse forty paces to burial expiates forty sins); and *passim*.

[1] D'Ohsson, *Tableau*, ii, 308. [2] Huart, *Konia*, p. 203.

[3] D'Herbelot, *s. v. Arbain*. The use of the number forty occurs also in the ritual of the ancient Greeks, but seems to have been derived by them from a Semitic source (Wide, *Archiv f. Religionsw.* 1909, p. 227), just as it has been by modern Greece and Turkey, and to some extent by Latin Christianity; forty days' indulgences, *e.g.*, are common in the Roman Church. Dr. Roscher's exhaustive essays on the number forty among the Semites (*Abh. Sächs. Ges., Phil.-Hist. Cl.*, 1909, *Abh.* 4) and among the Greeks (*Verh. Sächs. Ges., Phil.-Hist. Cl.*, lxi (1909), *Abh.* ii) render further elaboration of this point unnecessary.

[4] Beduin, when ill, bathe for forty days in Pharaoh's bath at Sinai (Bussierre, *Lettres*, ii, 235).

[5] *Synax. CP.* 9 Mar. They are mentioned already by Greg. Turon. *De Glor. Mart.* I, xcvi. See further above, p. 50.

[6] Khitrovo, *Itin. Russes*, p. 245.

[7] Cumont, *Stud. Pont.* ii, 225. A bath on the shore of the lake was heated to induce the freezing martyrs to recant and is usually depicted in the art-type of the Forty of Sebaste. Its introduction into the legend of the Forty Martyrs seems strange: see Hasluck, *Letters*, p. 106. From the references given there the Forty seem to be bath *deities*.

[8] From Mr. Ekisler of Smyrna. The Forty of Sebaste are reverenced

Other groups of Forty (Christian) saints are connected with Sinai,[1] Melitene,[2] Adrianople[3] and other parts of Thrace,[4] and Rome.[5] In Palestine d'Arvieux records a ruined church of the Forty at Hebron[6] and a monastery similarly dedicated close by.[7] On the Mohammedan side we have certain groups of unlocalized spirits, such as the Forty Saints on Earth,[8] the Forty Abdals,[9] the Forty Victims,[10] and a group of Forty Saints half localized by their appearance in S. Sophia.[11] Localized groups of Forty Saints are found all over the Moslem world. At

by the Armenians, to whom they are known as *Kasùn Manùg* = 'Forty Children' [of the Church]. The 'Monastery of the Forty' at Sivas visited by Ainsworth (*Travels*, ii, 12) was probably Armenian. In the West they figure already among the early paintings of S. Maria Antiqua at Rome (Rushforth in *Papers B.S.R.* i, 109).

[1] Robinson, *Palestine*, i, 159, 181; Agnes Lewis, *Horae Semiticae*, p. ix; Ebers, *Durch Gosen*, pp. 341–54; Goldziher in *Rev. Hist. Relig.* ii, 320, and reff.; Goujon, *Terre Sainte*, p. 317; Thévenot, *Voyages*, ii, 528. See especially Palmer, *Desert of the Exodus*, p. 119.

[2] Procopius (*de Aed.* i, 7) mentions the finding of their remains at Constantinople. *Three* martyrs of Melitene are mentioned in the *Synaxaria* under date 21 July; but the tradition of the Forty and a church said to contain their relics survive at Melitene (Malatia) itself (Texier, *Asie Mineure*, ii, 35).

[3] *Synax. CP.* 1 Sept. But *the* Forty Saints (of Sebaste) are celebrated at Adrianople on 9 Mar. as elsewhere (Lavriotes, in Θρᾳκικὴ Ἐπετηρίς, i, 32 ff.), and the monastery of Xeropotamou on Athos, which is specially connected with the Adrianople district, feasts on the same day.

[4] Delehaye, *Culte des Martyrs*, pp. 278, 281.

[5] *Ibid.*: other western groups are at Marseilles (Collin de Plancy, *Dict. des Reliques*, ii, 341–3); at Lyons (Lucius, *Anfänge des Heiligenk.*, p. 147), near Benevento (Baedeker, *S. Italy*, p. 221).

[6] *Mémoires*, ii, 236: *cf.* Hanauer, *Folk-Lore of the Holy Land*, p. 31, who is perhaps our most important authority.

[7] *Ibid.*, ii, 244. For the forty Martyrs at Jerusalem see Theodericus, *De Locis Sanctis*, ed. Tobler, p. 120. *Cf.* also Fabri, *Evagat.* ii, 475. Hahn mentions a group in Albania (*Alban. Studien*, i, 90).

[8] D'Ohsson, *Tableau*, i, 104.

[9] Hammer-Hellert, *Hist. Emp. Ott.* i, 156.

[10] J. P. Brown, *Dervishes*, p. 163.

[11] Evliya, *Travels*, I, i, 60.

Medina are the graves of Forty Martyrs who fell for the Prophet,[1] while Tunis boasts a corresponding sanctuary of the Forty Volunteers of Sidi Okba, the conqueror of North Africa.[2] Other Moslem Forties are venerated at Tekrit (on the Tigris),[3] in the mosque of El Aksa at Jerusalem,[4] at Ramleh,[5] at Damascus,[6] in northern Syria on several mountains in the country of the Nosairi,[7] and in Egypt at Menzaleh and elsewhere.[8] Other Moslem 'Forty' cults are to be found in Cyprus,[9] at Yoros-Keui [10] and at Ak-Baba [11] near Constantinople,

[1] Burton, *Pilgrimage to Al-Medinah and Meccah*, London, 1906, i, 274. [2] N. Davis, *Ruined Cities*, pp. 355 ff.

[3] G. L. Bell, *Amurath to Amurath*, p. 217.

[4] Baedeker, *Palestine and Syria*, p. 60.

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 13; d'Arvieux, *Mémoires*, ii, 28; de Brèves, *Voyages*, p. 103; Tobler, *Topogr. von Jerusalem*, ii, 828–35; Goujon, *Terre Sainte*, p. 106; V. Guérin, *Descr. de la Pales.* I, i, 42; Stern, *Die Moderne Türkei*, p. 171; Thévenot, *Voyages*, ii, 572.

[6] Baedeker, *Palestine and Syria*, p. 317; Lady Burton, *Inner Life of Syria*, p. 314. Here they are called the Forty Companions of the Prophet. I was told by a native of Damascus that the attraction of this sanctuary is a miraculously suspended stone which exudes a liquid good for sore eyes. This cult may or may not be derived from the one mentioned by Thévenot (in Harris, *Voyages*, ii, 445): 'In an hole the Forty Martyrs are buried, who were put to Death by the King or Basha of *Damascus* for defiling a mosque, tho' 't was done by a *Jewish* Child; these Forty Christians taking it upon themselves to deliver the rest, who suffer'd much for it in Prison.' See also Pococke, *Descr. of the East*, II, i, 126, and Goujon, *Terre Sainte*, p. 31.

[7] Walpole, *Ansayrii*, iii, 340, mentions one of these 'Mountains of the Forty' (*Jebel el Arbain*) near Latakia. Colonel T. E. Lawrence tells me there are several. The Anatolian 'Kizilbash', who are supposed to profess a similar heresy to that of the Nosairi, have also a group of Forty Saints in their hagiology (Grenard, in *Journ. Asiat.*, iii, 1904, p. 516). Farther east Sir P. M. Sykes found a volcano of the 'Forty' in Persian Baluchistan (*Ten Thousand Miles in Persia*, p. 134).

[8] Goldziher, in *Globus*, lxxi (1897), p. 239. At the mosque of the Forty at Suez 40 sheikhs, whom Napoleon shot, are buried (Le Boulicaut, *Au Pays des Mystères*, pp. 23–4).

[9] This cult is discussed below. [10] Evliya, *Travels*, I, ii, 73.

[11] This is a group of forty *female* saints known as Kirk Sultan (F.W.H.).

and at Larissa [1] in Thessaly. The idea, then, of the Forty Saints has in it nothing new or strange for Mohammedans, so that it is natural to find them attracted rather than otherwise towards Christian cults bearing the name.[2]

The Forty Saints of Sinai, though Christian, are said to have been held in special honour by the fanatical sultan Selim I,[3] and of the numerous monasteries and churches dedicated to and containing relics of the Forty Saints of Sebaste at least one seems certainly to have been adopted into Islam under the name of Kirklar Tekke ('Convent of the Forty'). This sanctuary, at a village, probably the ancient *Sarin*, near Zela in Pontus, is still visited by Christian as well as Moslem pilgrims.[4] In Cyprus, conquered by the Turks only in 1571 and always largely Christian by population, there is also a convent of the Forty (Kirklar Tekkesi). This sanctuary (near Nicosia) is likewise frequented both by Christians and Turks, though outwardly Mohammedan.[5] Some at least of the Moslem Forties cited above may have had a similar Christian past; Tekrit in particular was a Christian centre with a great monastery as late as the

[1] The graves of the Larissa Forty were formerly shown at the mosque (now destroyed) which bore their name (Kirklar Jami).

[2] In Carmoly's Jewish *Itinéraires* it is remarkable that the number *Forty* does not occur: instead, the saints are grouped in sevens, twelves, or multiples of these numbers.

[3] P. Meyer, *Athosklöster*, pp. 65 ff. Though Selim was a fanatical Sunni Moslem, he was rather conciliatory than otherwise to Christians, owing, it was said, to the influence of a Greek wife. *Cf.* especially *Hist. Pol.*, *ap.* Crusius, *Turco-Graecia*, p. 40, ἠνέῳξε καὶ ναοὺς ἡμετέρους, οὕσπερ ἀπέκλεισεν ὁ πατὴρ αὐτοῦ. For his connexion with the monastery of S. Catherine on Sinai see Burckhardt, *Syria*, *p.* 543.

[4] See above, p. 50 and below, p. 574.

[5] Hackett, *Church of Cyprus*, p. 421; Lukach, *City of Dancing Dervishes*, p. 80; Luke and Jardine, *Handbook of Cyprus* (1913), p. 47. Mr. Luke informs me that there are at this *tekke* some twenty-three tombs below ground, and one large one, supposed to contain the remains of the other seventeen saints, above ground.

tenth century,[1] and the Ramleh Forty are claimed by the Christians to this day as replacing, or identical with, the Forty of Sebaste.[2]

At Kirk Kilise in Thrace there are traces of such a development. The name of the town is in all probability derived not, as would seem at first sight, from 'forty churches', but from a church of the Forty Saints, perhaps those associated with the neighbouring town of Adrianople. The name and possibly also the site of this hypothetical church may be still commemorated by the modern and outwardly Moslem[3] 'Convent of the Forty' (Kirklar Tekke). Significant is the Turkish tradition that 'the true orthography of the name [of the town] is Kirk-Kemsi, forty persons, because the town was once sanctified by being the residence of that number of holy men, to whom they have dedicated a small mosque, or oratory'.[4]

If *Kirk Kilise* stands really for *Kirklar Kilise* it is

[1] Le Strange, *E. Caliphate*, p. 57. Sachau (*Am Euphrat und Tigris*, p. 88) refers the Forty group of Tekrit to a Christian original.

[2] Tobler, *Topogr. von Jerusalem*, ii, 833; de Brèves, *Voyages* (1605), p. 103; Goldziher, in *Globus*, lxxi (1897), p. 239; Conder in *Survey of Palestine*, ii, 270 ff. This tradition may well be true, but there are some half-dozen Moslem pilgrimages of the Forty in Palestine (Conder, *loc. cit.* v, 269). A 'Mosque of the Forty' at Seilun (Conder, *loc. cit.* ii, 368; Clermont-Ganneau, *Archaeological Researches in Pal.* ii, 299) is an ancient building of doubtful origin, by some supposed to be a synagogue. Goldziher (*loc. cit.*) remarks on the frequency of Moslem *Forties* both in Syria and Egypt, citing for the latter a 'Forty' at Menzaleh, which he considers not of Moslem origin. Bernard the Wise (A.D. 867, ed. Wright, p. 24, mentions a monastery of the Forty outside the western gate of Alexandria, showing that the Christian cult came early to Egypt.

[3] F. W. H. The 'Convent of the Forty' is mentioned and this derivation of the name of the town suggested by M. Christodoulos, *Ἡ Θράκη*, pp. 196, 245. The modern town of Kirk Kilise seems to have begun its existence as a road-station between Constantinople, Shumla, and Rustchuk: we know nothing of it in Byzantine times.

[4] Walsh, *Journey*, p. 147; *cf.* Frankland, *Travels*, i, 70, where the holy men are qualified as *santons*.

obvious that other combinations may be interpreted in the same way. In particular Kirk Agach, the name of a town near Pergamon and of a village in the Troad,[1] may be translated either simply 'Forty Trees' or 'Tree of the Forty'. Sacred trees are common to Islam and Christianity, and one such has certainly given its name to the Thracian port of Dedeagach ('Saint's Tree').[2]

In the same category as the 'Convents of the Forty' falls the name of a village near Adalia called Kirk Jamisi ('Mosque of the Forty').[3] Here there are, so far as I know, no Christian traditions.

The task of deciding between Christian and Moslem claims in such cases is, in view of the popularity of the 'Forty-Saint' group in both religions, very difficult. We have also to consider the third possibility, that places named after the Forty were originally associated not with saints at all, but merely with secular figures, brigands, ogres, *jinns*, *peris*, &c., as the Caves of the Forty near Inje Su in Cappadocia are connected with forty *jinns*.[4] It is in fact most often impossible, owing to lack of evidence, to attribute the places named after the various forties to their rightful owners. Certain legends of various 'forties' were in the air, and became attached, for accidental or arbitrary reasons, to certain

[1] Tchihatcheff, *Bosphore*, p. 381.

[2] At Constantinople the great plane-tree with seven trunks near Buyuk Dere is called Kirk Agach (Byzantios, *Κωνσταντινούπολις*, ii, 157) as well as 'the Seven Brothers'. There seems to be a place called 'Forty Cypresses' near Eyyub (Hammer, *Constantinopolis*, ii, 37; von Prokesch-Osten, *Denkwürdigkeiten*, i, 430), and inside the city is a 'Forty Fountain' (*Kirk Cheshme*) or 'Fountain of the Forty' (Murray's *Constantinople*, p. 52). Further investigation may (or may not) bring these sites into connexion with the cult of the Forty Martyrs, who were venerated at the capital as elsewhere (*CP. Christiana*, iv, 134 f.).

[3] Ormerod and Robinson, in *B.S.A.* xvii, 221: here the possessive case of *Jami* shows that the *Kirk* is used substantivally. Kirk Jamisi is an ancient, but not, to judge from the inscriptions, a Christian site.

[4] Carnoy and Nicolaides, *Trad. de l'Asie Mineure*, p. 357.

localities. Christian 'Forties' and their haunts are more likely than the others to attract the notice of western travellers. In some cases, as at Sarin in Pontus, the Christian pedigree may be regarded as proved; in others, *e.g.* the Kirklar Dagh above Amasia, an old city in the district of Sebaste, it is probable; in others again, like Haji Khalfa's Kirklar Dagh near Boli,[1] nothing approaching certainty can be reached. On general grounds we may perhaps prefer to give the Forties in the radius of Sebaste (Sivas) to Christianity, and possibly to make a tentative division assigning probable religious sites, such as ruined churches, and especially sites on lakes, since in the case of the Forty of Sebaste a lake was the scene of their martyrdom,[2] to Christian saints. Caves, on the other hand, are rather attributable, but not exclusively, to the secular figures; mountains are equally suited for both categories of Forties. But the character of each individual site must be decided on its own evidence.

As to the origins and development of Christian cults of the Forty Saints an instructive illustration, showing the extreme fluidity of folk-tradition in such matters, is to be found near Caesarea in Cappadocia. Here Paul Lucas [3] was shown a crypt containing numerous bones, some of which were undecayed. This crypt seems to have been discovered by Christians, by whom it was associated with a group of Forty Virgin Martyrs. We may surmise that sainthood was predicated from the preservation of the bones, the traditional number Forty from their quantity, and their sex from some accidental circumstance, such as a dream.[4] At the present day

[1] Tr. Armain, in Vivien de S. Martin's *Asie Mineure*, ii, 718.

[2] The lake of Beyshehr was, probably on this account, named after the Forty Martyrs in medieval times.

[3] *Voyage dans la Grèce*, i, 139.

[4] It is probable that this was due to the Armenian Christians, always an important element in the population of Caesarea; the

this sanctuary has been brought into line with better-known traditions, and service is celebrated in it on the feast-day of the Forty (male) Martyrs of Sebaste.[1]

For Christians, every site marked by the discovery of a 'tomb of the Forty' would form a new centre of the cult, sending offshoots into the district. This is best shown in the case of Sebaste, from which the actual relics of the Forty Martyrs were widely distributed.[2] For the Mysian group,[3] if these 'Forties' are of Christian origin,[4] we can as yet point to no centre. For the Carian 'Forties' the following explanation may be offered. In Rhodes, as we learn from the Pilgrimage of Grünemberg (1486), there was a church of the Forty Martyrs with a vault containing not forty but twenty sarcophagi. This formed no obstacle to the pious credulity of the Rhodians, who assigned two saints to each sarcophagus. The relics were eventually thrown into the sea by the Turks.[5] It is possibly to this centre

legend of Echmiadzin as given by Rycaut (*Greek and Armenian Churches*, pp. 398 ff.) speaks of a band of seventy virgin missionaries to Armenia, of whom forty died on their way thither: *cf.* Tavernier, *Voyages*, I, iii; Tournefort, letter xix; Tchamich, *Hist. of Armenia*, i, 161, where the number is given as thirty-seven.

[1] Cuinet, *Turquie d' Asie*, i, 312; Murray's *Asia Minor*, p. 51; Bernardakis's account in *Échos d' Orient*, xi (1908), p. 25, shows that the tradition of female saints is still current: [Qerqlar] on y voit un grand nombre de croix gravées sur le paroi d'un rocher vertical. La légende raconte que au temps des persécutions quarante jeunes filles chrétiennes s'étaient cachées dans une anfractuosité de rocher qui se trouve vis-à-vis et y avaient trouvé la mort. Les Chrétiens y viennent en pèlerinage le jour de la fête des Quarante Martyrs de Sébaste."

[2] Delehaye, *Culte des Martyrs*, p. 73.

[3] *i.e.* the two 'Kirklar' sites mentioned above (p. 392) and possibly the two 'Kirk Agach' sites cited on p. 398.

[4] There is some slight presumption for this in the fact that a coast-village *SS. Quaranta* is marked near Lectum on the Italian portulans (Tomaschek, *Sitzb. Wien. Akad.* cxxiv, viii, 17).

[5] Ed. Goldfriedrich, p. 52: 'Danach ritten wir zu einer Kirche, liegt am Meer, geheissen: zu den Vierzig Märtyrern. Daselbst standen in einem tiefen Gewölbe noch zwanzig steinerne Särge: da haben

that we may affiliate the 'Forties' of the opposite mainland. At the site called Saranda near Loryma there is a tradition and some equivocal ruins of a church.[1] Of the ancient tomb near Knidos [2] no Christian traditions are recorded. Neither place is known to the medieval cartographers by the name of Saranda, which is consistent with our theory. Any one familiar with the *motifs* used in Greek hagiology can imagine with what readiness bones thrown up by the sea on this coast after the sacrilegious act of the Turks would be connected by Christian populations with the Forty Saints of Rhodes.

At the same time 'forty' cults can arise independently of such distributing centres. Cesnola was shown, near Cape Pyla in Cyprus, a cave containing a quantity of bones, which his guide said were those of forty saints: 'Up to within a few years ago it had been the custom of the peasants to make a pilgrimage to this cave accompanied by their priests on the anniversary of the ninth of March [the feast of the Forty of Sebaste], but the Greek archbishop of Cyprus . . . had ordered these pilgrimages to be discontinued.' [3] However, an exactly similar Cyprian cave-cult of the Forty Saints still exists and maintains its relations with the church near S. Chrysostomos in the district of Cyreneia. Here the saints' bones have proved to be the fossilized remains of wild beasts.[4]

An abandoned Christian sanctuary of 'the Forty' in

immer der genannten Heiligen je zwei nebeneinander in einem gelegen. Und wohl ein halb Jahr vordem waren die Türken in der Kirche gewesen und brachen die Särge auf und warfen der lieben Heiligen Gebeine in das Meer und zerschlugen und zerstachen alle geschnittenen und gemalten Bilder.'

[1] Chaviaras, in *Παρνασσός*, xiv, 537 ff.

[2] Halliday, in *Folk-Lore*, xxiii, 218. [3] *Cyprus*, p. 183.

[4] M. H. Ohnefalsch-Richter, *Gr. Sitten und Gebräuche auf Cypern*, p. 257. For similar remains in the same district which are, or were, attributed to the 'three hundred saints' see Hackett, *Church of Cyprus*, p. 421.

a Turkish district might become either secularized and considered a haunt of forty *jinns*, or, as at Sarin,[1] mohammedanized; its fate would largely depend on the supposed attitude (maleficent or beneficent) of its supernatural occupants towards the Turkish population.[2] But this hypothetical development does not preclude the possibility of a Turkish sanctuary of the Forty Saints having been from its origin Mohammedan, or a haunt of the forty *jinns* having been from its origin secular.

[1] The conversion by the Mevlevi of 'forty Christian monks' who worked miracles in a cave at Sis in Cilicia (Eflaki, *Acts of the Adepts*, in Redhouse's *Mesnevi*, p. 22) looks like another instance.

[2] See above, p. 89, n. 5.

XXX

HAIDAR, KHOJA AHMED, KARAJA AHMED [1]

THE local account of the saint Haidar at Haidar-es-Sultan[2] is given by Crowfoot as follows: 'Haidar was the son of the king of Persia and came from Khorassan from a town named Yassevi; he was also called Khodja Ahmed and was the disciple of the famous Hadji Bektash. With the latter he travelled to Caesarea, and there took a Christian named Mēnĕ to wife,[3] and together they came to the place of his tomb, where they begat children and died—the whole village now claiming descent from him.'[4]

The last clause makes clear the identity of Haidar as far as the village is concerned: he is their sainted ancestor. Whether, as Crowfoot suggests,[5] he is confused with Haidar the father (not the son) of Ismail, the founder of the Safavi dynasty in Persia, is for present purposes immaterial. The Bektashi addition to the local legend consists, as we shall see, in the identification of Haidar with Khoja Ahmed Yasevi, who seems himself confounded with the Bektashi saint Karaja Ahmed: both Ahmeds have been adopted into the Bektashi cycle.

Ahmed of Yasi (in Turkestan) died in A.D.[6] 1166–7 and had no connexion with Asia Minor or personally with Haji Bektash, since the latter died according to generally accepted accounts—the date of his death (1337) and

[1] Reprinted from *B.S.A.* xx, 120 ff. [2] Above p. 52.

[3] The survival of the name of the wife is extraordinary. In view of the oracular well which forms the chief attraction of the sanctuary (see above, p. 52), it seems worth suggesting that the Christian occupant (real or imaginary) of the site was S. Menas, who, on account of the popular derivation of his name from μηνύω, is looked on by the Orthodox as the revealer of things hidden (*cf.* Carnoy and Nicolaides, *Trad. de l'Asie Mineure*, p. 195). [4] *J. R. Anthr. Inst.* xxx, 309.

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 311. [6] Gibb, *Ottoman Poetry*, i, 71, n. 2.

even his existence have been questioned [1]—nearly two hundred years later. Ahmed Yasevi is, however, irrationally represented as the spiritual 'Master' (not, as is said at Haidar-es-Sultan, the pupil) of Haji Bektash and of a number of other dervishes,[2] who can at most have been influenced by his writings.[3] The spiritual pedigree of Haji Bektash from Ahmed Yasevi is fostered by the Bektashi as a guarantee of their orthodoxy.

It is Karaja Ahmed, not Khoja Ahmed, who generally figures as the pupil of Haji Bektash in Bektashi legend. He is mentioned by Saad-ed-din as a saint of Orkhan's reign: 'The Magnificent *Carage Ahmed* descended of the offspring of several Kings in the Countrey of *Persia*. After he had made a journey to the City of *Gezib*, from thence he came into *Greece* [*i.e.* Rum, Asia Minor], and dwelt in a place nigh to *Ak Hisar*; [4] his noble Sepulchre is there well known, and is a place of visit, or pilgrimage. Among the common people of the Countrey of *Greece* it is famous for a place of hearing prayer, and the very earth is profitable for evil diseases.' [5]

The seventeenth-century traveller Evliya Efendi mentions already as a fact the relation between Haji Bektash and Karaja Ahmed as that of master and pupil.[6] It would seem that the tomb of Karaja Ahmed was occupied, like so many others, by the Bektashi in their

[1] Jacob, *Beiträge*, p. 2.

[2] Evliya, *Travels*, ii, 20; for the spiritual affiliation of Haji Bektash to Khoja Ahmed see also the 'chain' of the dervish orders by Abdi Efendi (d. 1783) in Mouradja d'Ohsson's *Tableau*, ii, pl. 102.

[3] This chronological difficulty is admitted by learned Bektashi; their version is that Khoja Ahmed foretold the coming of Haji Bektash and bequeathed him a book as a pledge.

[4] The smaller of the two towns of this name, on the Sakaria.

[5] Seaman's *Orchan*, pp. 115–16.

[6] He is spoken of as a Persian Prince (like the Haidar of Haidar-es-Sultan) who came to the court of Orkhan, was initiated by Haji Bektash, and at his death buried at Ak Hisar (*Travels*, ii, 21: *cf.* p. 215; at p. 20 'Kari (*sic*) Ahmed Sultan' is said to have been one of the dervishes sent by Ahmed Yasevi from Khorasan into Rum).

prosperous period on the pretext that the saint was spiritual 'founder's kin'. Presumably under Bektashi auspices, the cult of Karaja Ahmed has spread widely from its original home on the Sakaria near Akhisar, where two or even three *tekkes* bear his name.[1] Ramsay cites two more in the district of Ushak,[2] and other reputed tombs of Karaja Ahmed exist in the great burial-ground at Skutari near Constantinople,[3] and in Rumeli near Uskub at Tekke Keui.[4]

The confusion which seems to exist at Haidar-es-Sultan between Khoja Ahmed Yasevi and Karaja Ahmed is found also in Evliya, who says that Ahmed Yasevi, an ancestor of his own, was a *disciple* of Haji Bektash, and on the same page that Haji Bektash was instructed by a pupil of Ahmed Yasevi and married his daughter.[5] The error arises from the familiar confusion between two persons of the same name, in this case Ahmed, borne by two eminent saints, one the alleged master, the other the alleged pupil, of Haji Bektash.

[1] (1) On the banks of the Sakaria near its junction with the Pursak (von Diest and Anton, *Neue Forschungen*, p. 28); (2) at Pashalar above Levke (von Diest, *Tilsit nach Angora*, p. 18); (3) just east of Tarakli (Skene, *Anadol*, p. 275).

[2] (1) Six hours SSW. of Ushak, three hours NW. of Geubek; (2) an hour from Liyen. The latter is a famous place of healing (Ramsay, *Pauline Studies*, p. 171). There is a village named Karaja Ahmedli south of Nefes Keui (Tavium). Quite possibly the original Kara ('black') or Karaja ('blackish') Ahmed was, like Haidar, an eponymous tribal ancestor, successive heads of the tribe bearing his name having been buried in various places. *Kizil* ('red') Ahmedli was the name of a tribe settled in the Kastamuni district; divisions of the same tribe are often differentiated by colour-epithets (see above, p. 128).

[3] Cuinet, *Turquie d'Asie*, iv, 604; *cf.* Evliya, *Travels*, I, ii, 81 ('Convent of Kara Ahmed Sultan'), 83 ('Convent of Karaja Ahmed Sultan'). There is now no convent attached to the tomb, which is, however, kept in repair and venerated. The Bektashi still lay claim to the saint, though this grave has passed into other hands.

[4] See above, pp. 274 ff. below, p. 582 (No. 19). [5] Travels, ii, 20.

XXXI

THE 'TOMB OF S. POLYCARP'[1]

Introductory

THE history and authenticity of the so-called 'tomb of S. Polycarp' at Smyrna have lately formed the subject of a monograph by Père S. Lorenzo of the Order of S. Francis,[2] who claims to have discovered the real church and tomb of S. Polycarp in a vineyard at some distance from the site tacitly accepted hitherto both by the Greek and Latin communities. The first section of this chapter attempts to trace as far as possible the history of the traditional tomb, the second to discuss the antiquity of its traditions and the value of tradition in general at Smyrna, the third to discuss the anti-dervish movement of 1656 to 1676 and the history of the tomb, the fourth to establish a point in the topography of ancient Smyrna on evidence arising from, or closely connected with, the former discussions.

§ 1. *The Traditional Tomb and its History*

The so-called 'tomb of S. Polycarp' stands prominent on a spur of the castle-hill immediately adjacent to the stadium where the saint is said to have suffered martyrdom in A.D. 166.[3] The tomb is Mohammedan in form, a rectangular bier built in masonry, with gables at either end, plastered over, and painted green. Like many other Moslem saints' tombs, it is very large as compared with those of ordinary mortals (which adhere to the proportions of an average man), measuring 3·30×1·80

[1] Reprinted with additions from *B.S.A.* xx, 80 ff.

[2] *S. Polycarpe et son Tombeau*, Constantinople, 1911.

[3] Eusebius, *Hist. Eccles.* iv, 15, 17. For the date see Réville in *Rev. Hist. Relig.* iii (1881), pp. 369–381.

metres. It stands in the open air with cypresses at head and foot. Of the two trees the former is old and well-grown, forming a conspicuous landmark, and to it rags are affixed, in accordance with the well-known custom, by the humble clients of the saint. Both tomb and cypresses stand in a small enclosed cemetery with a roughly-built hut for the guardian.

A tomb of S. Polycarp at Smyrna is first mentioned in 1622, when the town was visited by the French missionary Père Pacifique. His description is as follows :

'Au lieu où la Ville estoit auant qu'estre ruinee,[1] y a vne petite Cabane comme vn hermitage, où loge vn Dernis [*for* Deruis], c'est vn Religieux Turc, & dans cette petite chambrette, il y a le Cercueil de sainct Policarpe sans son Corps, il est couuert d'vn drap de couleur brune, & sur vn bout d'iceluy est posee la Mittre Episcopale du sainct qui est faicte en la maniere que i'ay cy dessus descript : . . . elle est d'vne estoffe fort simple, mais ouuragee dessus auec des broderies de fil de cotton à guise de Canetille, le nom de Dieu est escript en Arabe sur le front, *Alla*, elle est doublee dedans comme de taffetas Colombin pasle & passé, elle est vn peu entamee par vn coing, quelqu'vn y en ayant couppé en cachette, les Turcs la tiennent auec reuerence, parce qu'ils disent que sainct Policarpe estoit vn Euangeliste de Dieu, & amy de leur Prophete Mahomet : il y a encore vne Calotte aupres, qu'on tient estre celle que le sainct mettoit sur sa teste, i'ay tenu dans mes mains l'vne & l'autre, ie diray pourtant en passant afin de desabuser ceux, qui comme le commun croiroient que cette Calotte fust aussi veritablement de sainct Policarpe qu'est la Mittre qu'ils ne croyent plus, parce que ie sçay de boñe part que la veritable a esté prise, & que celle-cy est supposee, à ce que les Turcs ne s'en aperceussent, *& qui pie furatus est ipse mihi dixit :* celuy qui a fait ce pieux larcin me le dit a moy-mesme.'[2]

It is plain that Père Pacifique regarded the mitre, and presumably the tomb also, as authentic. Stochove, ten

[1] *i.e.* among the ruins on the hill below the castle gate ; *cf.* Le Bruyn, *Voyage*, i, 79, quoted below, p. 424, note 6.

[2] *Voyage de Perse*, pp. 11 f.

years later, makes it abundantly clear that the 'mitre' was no more than a dervish sheikh's cap or *taj*;[1] his account is as follows:

'Avant que d'entrer dans le chasteau, nostre Janissaire nous mena dans un petit bastiment faict en forme de chappelle, où il nous disoit que Sainct Jean Polycarpe estoit enterré, lequel aussi bien parmy les Turcs que parmy les Chrestiens, a la reputation d'avoir esté un Sainct personnage. A l'entrée nous vismes un Dervis ou Religieux Turc, lequel nous voyant nous salüa honnestement, & nous ayant dict qu'il falloit quitter les souliers, nous mena au lieu où ils disent estre enterré ce Sainct. Nous y vismes une tombe couverte de deux robbes, l'une de camelot minime & l'autre de velour vert; aux pieds il y avoit un baston ferré avec deux pointes, portant au milieu un croissant de Lune, semblable à ceux dont usent des pelerins Mahometans, qui vont visiter le sepulchre de leur prophete à la Mecque; au chevet il y avoit la façon d'une mithre, ayant un rebord avec trois pointes, où estoit piqué à l'eguille en caracteres Arabesques, *la Hilla heilla, halla Mahemet resul halla* . . .; ce que nous fit cognoistre l'erreur des Turcs, & que ces habits, baston, & mithre n'estoient point de ce Sainct: mais de quelque malheureux Mahometan. Les Turcs portent un grand respect & une devotion particuliere à ce lieu, ils y tiennent tousjours quelques lampes allumées, et a chaque Vendredy plusieurs y viennent faire leurs prieres.'[2]

It is hardly necessary to remark that such a saint as S. John Polycarp has never existed. We have probably to reckon with a divergent Christian tradition as to the occupant of the tomb. La Boullaye (1653), who does not mention the tomb of S. Polycarp, indicates the existence of a grave of S. John at Smyrna, which is not mentioned by any other writer and is of course incompatible with the venerable church traditions placing S. John's tomb at Ephesus. His words are: 'S. Jean estant mort en l'Isle de Patmos, ses Disciples le trans-

[1] The supposed mitre is last mentioned by Du Loir (1654) as "vne vieille Mytre faite selon la figure des nostres, mais d'vne estoffe qui m'est inconnuë" (*Voyages*, p. 14).

[2] *Voyage*, pp. 17 f.

porterent a Smirne et l'enterrerent, suiuant la tradition des Grecs, j'ay veu le lieu.'[1]

In all probability the older and essentially popular tradition of the Greeks referred the tomb to S. John, the attribution to S. Polycarp being due to the more learned opinion of the Latin clergy, who cannot be traced at Smyrna before the end of the sixteenth century. It is significant that the oldest Greek church of Smyrna (in the 'Upper Quarter') is dedicated to S. John,[2] while the Latin parish claims S. Polycarp for its patron. To the Turks S. John would doubtless be the more acceptable, since S. John *the Baptist*, having a recognized standing among Mussulmans,[3] might be considered by them an 'evangelist of God'.

In these, the earliest and most detailed accounts of the tomb and relics of S. Polycarp at Smyrna, there is to an unprejudiced eye no outward trace of anything more than a Turkish saint-cult associated by Christians, to judge by Stochove, as much with S. John as with S. Polycarp. It was probably one of those ambiguous cults organized by the Bektashi dervishes which Christians were encouraged to frequent.[4]

Three notices of the tomb about the middle of the seventeenth century are of special interest [5] as showing that at this date it passed from Moslem to Christian

[1] *Voyages*, p. 20.

[2] The present cathedral, dedicated to S. Photine (the woman of Samaria), is of more recent date and probably owes its origin to the still existing holy well associated not unnaturally with the saint.

[3] Menasik-el-Haj, tr. Bianchi, in *Rec. de Voyages*, ii, 115, on the former church of S. John at Damascus.

[4] *Cf.* below, p. 564 ff. on *Ambiguous Sanctuaries and Bektashi Propaganda*, especially no. 12. Near the tomb now shown as that of S. Polycarp or 'Yusuf Dede' is at least one grave marked as that of a Bektashi dervish by the twelve-sided 'mitre' (*taj*) of the order carved on its headstone. Bektashi mitres embroidered with the confession of faith, like that seen at Smyrna by Pacifique and Stochove, are mentioned by J. P. Brown, *Dervishes*, p. 151.

[5] The tomb of Polycarp is mentioned also by Le Bruyn, Spon,

custody. Monconys, in 1648, does not mention the dervish guardian. The chapel was 'toute rompue et descouverte' and the only thing to be seen in it was a tomb like that of a Turkish sheikh.[1] D'Arvieux (1654–6) expressly states that the tomb was in Greek hands:

'Assez près de l'amphithéâtre [*i.e.* the theatre] sont les restes de l'Église de S. Jean. C'étoit la Cathedrale de Smirne. Elle paroît avoir été fort grande, & accompagnée d'un grand nombre de chapelles. . . . De toutes ces Chapelles, il en reste une seule assez entière, dans laquelle est un tombeau *bien gardé par des Religieux Grecs*, qu'ils disent être celui de S. Polycarpe.'[2]

Thomas Smith (1665) implies that the tomb and the humble two-roomed 'chapel' that contained it were in Christian hands and kept in some sort of repair:

'Sepulchrum *S. Polycarpi*, quod in latere montis versus Euro-austrum adhuc conservatur, *Graeci* die festo . . . solenniter invisunt: situm est in quâdam aediculâ, ecclesiae forte sacello, alii, per quam illuc transeundum est, contiguâ. In hoc monumento instaurando, si ab impressionibus aeriis, si a *Turcis*, si a *Christianis* Occidentalibus, qui fragmenta marmoris quasi tot sacras reliquias exinde tollunt, laedatur temereturque, laudabilis illorum collocatur opera, ollâ fictili quoque illic appositâ, in quam quisque ferè . . . illic ductus, pauculos aspros conjicit, ut in omne aevum perennet.'[3]

The change of ownership may have been due to the movement against dervish orders and superstitious cults promoted especially by the vizir Mohammed Kuprulu and the preacher Vani Efendi in the latter half of the seventeenth century.[4] D'Arvieux' account is further important as helping to explain the ambiguity of Stochove's 'S. John Polycarp'. It is evident that a group of ruins, located by our authors rather vaguely in the

Wheler, and Tournefort, none of whose descriptions adds anything material to our knowledge of it.

[1] *Voyages*, i, 425.

[2] *Mémoires*, i, 50.

[3] *Septem Ecclesiarum Notitia*, p. 53.

[4] Especially under Mohammed IV (1648–87), see below, § 3.

vicinity of the castle-gate and the theatre, had for long been regarded as the remains of a great cathedral church dedicated to S. John.[1] The tomb and chapel of 'S. Polycarp' or 'S. John Polycarp' were included in this group of ruins, but their exact position is nowhere exactly indicated.

Pococke (1739) is the first author to refer clearly to the present 'tomb of Polycarp', which he locates accurately at the north-west corner of the stadium, that is, with at least the length of the latter between it and the considerable ruins known as the 'Church of S. John'. To Père S. Lorenzo belongs the credit of having first recognized this change of site. It seems at least probable that the traditional tomb of Polycarp moved from one end of the stadium to the other about the beginning of the eighteenth century,[2] and passed once more into Moslem hands. How this happened, whether, for example, the Turks stole the sarcophagus, or set up a rival tomb independently, we shall probably never know. The former is rather suggested by Pococke's account, which runs as follows :

'It is said that great disorders had been committed here by the Greeks at the time of his [Polycarp's] festival; and that a cadi laid hold on this pretence to get money, ordering that, in case any Christians came to it, the community of Christians should be obliged to pay such a sum; but as he could not obtain his end, he put up a stone turbant on it, as if it were the tomb of some Mahometan saint, by which he thought to have his revenge in preventing the Christians from ever resorting to it again, which hitherto has had its effect.'[3]

[1] See below, § 4.

[2] Such a change of site is by no means unprecedented. The tomb of S. Antipas at Pergamon, which was supposed in the thirties to be in the mosque called S. Sophia (C. B. Elliott, *Travels*, ii, 127), is now shown outside the so-called 'Church of S. John' (Lambakis, *Ἑπτὰ Ἀστέρες*, p. 284). Here again the Turks probably made difficulties for Christians entering the mosque.

[3] *Descr. of the East*, II, ii, 36. The whole story may, of course, be

The Kadi's action may have kept the Greeks away from the tomb for a time and officially; but a century of tradition, aided doubtless by the natural cupidity of the guardian, eventually overrode all artificial obstacles, and down to our own day both Greeks and Latins have connected the tomb with the name of Polycarp and frequented it. At the same time the site of the 'chapel' seems to have been the scene of the official Greek service down to quite a late date. Stephan Schulz in 1753 speaks of the old two-roomed chapel as the church of S. Polycarp,[1] and von Prokesch-Osten in 1830 says that service was celebrated within living memory in an adjacent building bearing the same name.[2]

Our deductions as to the history of the traditional tomb are therefore somewhat as follows. As early as 1622 an empty sarcophagus [3] inside a humble building was associated with S. Polycarp and reverenced by Greeks and Turks alike: the tomb was Mohammedan in form, and in charge of a dervish. About the middle of the seventeenth century it passed into Christian hands. In the eighteenth the sarcophagus seems to have been removed, or at least the cult transferred by the Turks to the site of the present tomb, while the supposed chapel continued to be reverenced by Christians. The prestige of the sarcophagus made the outwardly Turkish tomb still an object of reverence for Greeks, who were encouraged from interested motives by the custodian.

Christian popular tradition still associates the tomb with S. Polycarp, though the Greek service in his

a fable to account for the Mohammedan form of the alleged Christian saint's tomb.

[1] *Reise*, in Paulus' *Sammlung der Reisen* (1801), vi, 105; Weber, commenting on this passage (in Steinwald, *Evang. Gemeinde zu Smyrna*, p. 30) identifies the 'chapel of S. Polycarp' with substructures of the stadium recently removed.

[2] *Denkwürdigkeiten*, i, 520, quoted below, § 4.

[3] *Sans son corps* (Pacifique).

honour is now celebrated in the stadium, and Latin tradition, in consequence of Père S. Lorenzo's recent discoveries, is focussing on the vineyard site.

It is interesting to note that the Mohammedan side of the cult has created for itself a new cycle of legend, investigated by Père S. Lorenzo. The tomb is for Turks no longer the tomb of Polycarp, the 'friend of Mohammed', but of Yusuf Dede, a Moslem warrior who fell before the castle-walls and carried his head to the 'tomb of Polycarp'.[1] Both traditions were till recently reconciled by the guardian, who showed a bare spot of ground near the tomb as the burial-place of the Christian saint.[2] The spot where Yusuf fell, before the gates of the castle, is marked by a recent but promising precinct containing a young cypress and a thorn-bush, but as yet no formal tomb, only a heap of stones.[3] This

[1] Saints who carried their own heads are common in Turkish as in Christian hagiology; for examples see Mirković, in *Wiss. Mitth. Bosnien*, i, 462; Evliya, *Travels*, I, ii, 68, II, 228; Durham, *Burden of the Balkans*, p. 228; Patsch, *Das Sandschak Berat*, p. 9. The theme affords a convenient explanation for the existence of two tombs attributed to the same saint.

[2] The spot formerly shown is now covered by the guardian's cottage (S. Lorenzo, p. 205).

[3] The custom of throwing stones on graves, noticed in Asia Minor also by Schaffer (*Cilicia*, p. 29; *cf.* Bent, *J. R. Anthr. Inst.* xx, 275), is in Herzegovina restricted to the graves of persons who have met their death by violence (Lilek, in *Wiss. Mitth. Bosnien*, viii, 272). Passers by threw stones on Goliath's grave (Antoninus *martyr*, *De Locis Sanctis*, ed. Tobler, p. 33 (xxxi)): the modern Yuruks (Garnett, *Turkish Life*, p. 202) and the Arabs of Syria (J. L. Porter, *Damascus*, p. 318) also throw stones on graves. Tristram (*E. Customs*, p. 101) says the cairns are to keep jackals away, but later (pp. 102–3) says passers by curse the murderer as they throw the stone: Georgeakis and Pineau (*Folk-Lore de Lesbos*, p. 323) add that they should also pray for the murdered man; in Lesbos the cairns are called *ἀναθεματίστριαι*. The practice may have arisen from a desire to hold down the uneasy ghost. Solomon walled up *jinns* in the pillars of the vaults under the Haram, and if a passer by fails to throw a stone, the *jinns* catch him (de Vogüé, *Syrie*, p. 204).

is said to mark the spot where the saint's head is buried. It is instructive to remark that the negro village on the castle-hill, of which Yusuf has become the tutelary saint, is of recent immigrants: it is hence apparently that the new religious impetus has come which has swept the old tomb of Polycarp into its orbit. A dream come true, a prayer fulfilled, or some such accidental happening, is probably accountable. It is also to be noticed, in view of 'survival' theories based on the coincidence of festivals, that the festival of Yusuf is celebrated in June[1] and that of his predecessor Polycarp in February.

§ 2. *The Value of Tradition at Smyrna*

A reputed tomb of S. Polycarp, probably, as we have seen, not always at the same site, has thus been shown at Smyrna for nearly three centuries, that is, throughout the modern history of the town. The validity or otherwise of its claims to earlier traditions can only be conjectured from general probabilities. It is not safe to attach overmuch weight to 'tradition', especially at Smyrna. In such identifications as that of the tomb of S. Polycarp we have throughout to remember that irrational speculation, based on dreams and other accidental circumstances, normally plays a large part. Indeed, religious tradition in the East is quite as easily manufactured as perpetuated, and varies in the most arbitrary manner, even without an apparent cause, such as a break in the history of a community.

In the case of the tomb of S. Polycarp, it is *a priori* extremely unlikely that a tradition has survived even from the Middle Ages. One of the many long blanks in the history of Smyrna extends from the sack of the city by Timur (1402) to the renaissance of the seventeenth century. Our sole glimpse of the city in the

[1] S. Lorenzo, p. 203.

intervening period, which is afforded by Cepio's account of the Venetian sack in 1472, shows it as a purely Turkish place.[1]

As to the Middle Ages it is true that Sherif-ed-din, the historian of Timur, says that Smyrna was in his time a place of pilgrimage for Christians :[2] but this need not refer to the cult, still less the traditional grave, of S. Polycarp.[3] Of the cult during the Frankish occupation (1344 to 1402), the only trace seems to be the fact that all known relics of S. Polycarp can be traced to Malta,[4] the later seat of the Knights of S. John, from whom Timur took Smyrna in 1402 : there is thus a possibility that these relics were from Smyrna. In the fairly voluminous literature of the Frankish occupation there is no mention of a tomb, relics, or cult of S. Polycarp. If the relics then existed, they were probably preserved in some church within the walls of the Knights' castle beside the harbour, which was the only part of the city in the hands of the Christians.

When Smyrna emerges from the obscurity of the Middle Ages, which is not before the early years of the seventeenth century, the names of S. John and S. Polycarp are applied to existing monuments and sites absolutely at random. The following are associated with S. John :

(1) A cave (near S. Veneranda, in the neighbourhood of the Jews' cemetery) to which he was said to have retired : this was early appropriated by the Kadi to serve as a cistern.[5]

[1] *Ap.* Sathas, *Μνημ. Ἑλλ. Ἱστ.* vii, 294.

[2] Tr. Pétis de la Croix, iv, 46.

[3] In the thirteenth century an *eikon* of Christ was greatly revered there (*G. Acrop.*, p. 56).

[4] S. Lorenzo, *op. cit.*, pp. 285–90. Two late fifteenth-century pilgrims, Joos van Ghistele (*'T Voyage* (1483), p. 335) and Grünemberg (*Pilgerfahrt* (1486), p. 51) mention the head of S. Polycarp amongst the relics at Rhodes.

[5] Stochove, *Voyage*, p. 20 ; this is probably the modern *Κρυφία*

(2) A font used by S. John for baptism was shown on the castle-hill in the middle of the eighteenth century.[1]

(3) The mosque in the castle was by some supposed to be a transformed church of S. John.[2]

(4) The columns of Namazgiah in the Jewish quarter were traditionally said to be those of a church of S. John.[3]

(5) 'A mile from the city' (direction not specified, but not, so far as one can judge, on the castle-hill) were the walls of a church also, according to some, dedicated to S. John.[4]

(6) In spite of the long medieval tradition of S. John's burial at Ephesus, the 'tradition of the Greeks' in the seventeenth century pointed out his tomb at Smyrna.[5]

With S. Polycarp were similarly associated, besides the tomb which we are discussing:

(1) A 'prison', apparently near S. Veneranda, but the locality is not exactly indicated.[6]

Παναγία, a chapel in a subterranean watercourse (Oikonomos (1809), *Τὰ Σωζόμενα*, i, 338; Weber, in *Jahrbuch*, xiv, 186 f.).

[1] Schulz (1753), *Reise*, p. 105.

[2] Le Bruyn, *Voyage* (Paris, 1725) i, 74; Spon, i, 232; Earl of Sandwich, *Voyage*, p. 308; Schulz, p. 104. In Arundell's time the same building was said to have been dedicated to the twelve Apostles (*Asia Minor*, ii, 394): it has also been called the church of S. Polycarp (see below). The real dedication may have been to S. Demetrius (as Fontrier, *Rev. Ét. Anc.* ix, 114, basing on *Acta et Diplom.* i, 52), if, indeed, the building was not, as it has every appearance of being, a mosque from its origin.

[3] Oikonomos, *Τὰ Σωζόμενα*, i, 337: these columns have also been said to belong to (*a*) a 'Palace of Alexander' (De Burgo, *Viaggio*, i, 461), and (*b*) the Homereion (*Museum Worsleyanum*, ii, 43).

[4] T. Smith, *Notitia*, p. 53: '*Franciscani* templum nuncupant; forte *D. Johanni* olim dedicabatur.'

[5] La Boullaye, *Voyages* (1653), p. 20, quoted above, p. 409. The author does not mention the tomb of Polycarp, and is probably alluding to it under this name.

[6] De Burgo, *Viaggio*, i, 461: is this Stochove's 'Cave of S. John'?

(2) A tree on the castle-hill, which had grown from the saint's staff.[1]

(3) The mosque in the castle is said by Oikonomos to have been a church dedicated to S. Polycarp,[2] by others, as we have seen, to S. John or the Apostles.

(4) In 1851 a mutilated statue lying on the ground near the castle was pointed out as that of S. Polycarp.[3]

The wholly speculative nature of the identifications made at Smyrna during the seventeenth and later centuries is shown best of all by the variety of 'traditions' current as to the conspicuous group of ruins on the acropolis hill between the castle gate and the stadium. Three travellers (d'Arvieux, Thévenot, and de Burgo) call this group of ruins a church of S. John, three others (Le Bruyn, Tournefort, and Lucas[4]) a church of S. Polycarp.[5] The former identification seems certainly old,[6] though probably not authentic. D'Arvieux, as we

[1] Des Hayes (1621), *Voiage*, p. 343: 'Il y a vn arbre que l'on dit estre venu du baston de *Sainct Polycarpe*, Euesque de ce lieu, qu'il planta, quand il fut pris pour estre martyrisé.' The tree of S. Polycarp is called by Stochove a terebinth, by Spon (i, 232) a cherry, and by the botanist Tournefort a *micocoulier* or lotus.

[2] *Τὰ Σωζόμενα*, i, 337: *Ἐπάνωθεν δὲ τούτου [sc. τοῦ ἀμφιθεάτρου] στέκει καὶ μέρος ἱκανὸν τῆς ἐκκλησίας τοῦ ἁγίου Πολυκάρπου, μεταμορφωμένης εἰς ἤδη ἔρημον τσαμίον* [mosque], *ὅπου ἦτο καὶ ὁ τόπος τοῦ μαρτυρίου καὶ ὁ τάφος αὐτοῦ*. So also Sestini, *Lettres* (1789), iii, 10. The only mosque on the hill was that inside the castle walls which is marked 'Church of S. Polycarp' in Admiralty charts of 1834.

[3] Walpole, *Ansayrii*, i, 25.

[4] *Voyage fait en 1714*, i, 154.

[5] The distinction may be due to a discrepancy in 'tradition' between Greeks and Armenians: similarly at Ephesus certain ruins are associated by the Armenians with S. John the Divine, by the Greeks with S. Panteleëmon, each community holding service there on the appropriate day (Lambakis, *Ἑπτὰ Ἀστέρες*, p. 107). A church at Angora is similarly associated both with S. Clement and S. John (Perrot and Guillaume, *Explor. de la Galatie*, p. 271), probably for the same reason. At Smyrna the S. John dedication, as more popular, is probably more ancient.

[6] A cathedral church of S. John outside the precincts of the sea

have noted above,[1] seems to compromise by taking the chapel of S. Polycarp as part of the 'Church of S. John', as Stochove did by fusing S. John and S. Polycarp into one person. A seventh authority, Edward Melton (1672), who describes unmistakably a conspicuous portion of the group of ruins,[2] considers it either a church of S. Polycarp or a temple of Janus.[3] Others have called the same ruin a 'Judicatorium',[4] a 'Homereion',[5] the 'Palagio del Consiglio',[6] and the 'Room of the Synod'.[7] Drummond (1744) doubts whether to call it a Homereion, a public library, or a temple of Janus. Prokesch (1830) accepts it as a church of Polycarp. Seventeenth-century classical archaeology at Smyrna, probably initiated by William Petty in 1634,[8]

castle, is mentioned in the Frankish period at Smyrna (1344–1402) by the contemporary *Anon. Romanus* (in Muratori, *Antiq. Ital.* iii, 364): 'Era una Chiesa antiquissima, la quale hao nome Santo Ianni. Dicesi che lo biato Santo Ianni la edificaò. Questa Chiesa fo lo Vescovato de quella Terra, nanti cha fossi destrutta la Cittate. . . . Po' la destruttione era rimasta campestre.' This church lay *juxta viam* as one went to the (upper) castle (*Joh. Vitodurani Chronicon*, ed. Eckhart, *Corpus Hist. Med. Aev.* i, 1909).

[1] P. 410.

[2] *Zee- end Land-Reizen*, p. 232: 'Van de twee zijden gelijk als in Kapellen door kleine muurtjens, die noch over eind staan, afgescheiden zijn'; *cf.* below, § 3.

[3] Tavernier's church of S. Polycarp near the sea, otherwise called the temple of Janus (*Voyages*, p. 32), is probably a confusion with the above identification: his description is almost exactly Melton's. The building generally known as the temple of Janus (Duloir, p. 15: La Boullaye, p. 20; Spon, i, 234; Le Bruyn, i, 79, &c.) and figured in Wheler's cut, stood on the low ground north of the city. Spon called it a Homereion and Stochove apparently a temple of Diana. Its identity seems to have been fixed (Le Bruyn, i, 79) by the discovery of a 'statue of Janus,' probably a double herm. It may still be doubted whether the building was more than a Turkish *turbe* built of old blocks.

[4] T. Smith, p. 53.

[5] Rycaut, *Greek and Armenian Churches*, p. 41; Alex. Drummond, (1754), *Travels*, p. 116.

[6] Gemelli Careri (1693), *Giro del Mondo*, i, 216.

[7] Pococke, *Descr. of the East*, II, ii, 36.

[8] Michaelis, *Ancient Marbles*, p. 11.

is in the same empiric stage. The celebrated bust at the castle-gate figures in various authors as (1) Helen of Troy,[1] (2) Semiramis,[2] (3) the Amazon Smyrna,[3] and (4) Apollo,[4] not to mention (5) the Turkish legendary heroine Coidasa,[5] or Kadifé.[6]

It is apparent that the identifications made during this period, religious and secular alike, are simple guess-work, varying with the guide's fancy, and resting on no tradition inherited from the Middle Ages. The identification of the ruin or group of ruins called the church of S. John is the only one which is known to date from medieval times.[7]

§ 3. *The Anti-dervish Movement of 1656–76*

At all times in Turkish history the dervish orders have exercised a considerable, if ill-defined, influence over certain sections of the population. At some periods, *e.g.*, at the end of the sixteenth century,[8] political and other combinations have enhanced this influence to such an extent as to make them potentially important allies or dangerous enemies to the civil government. At the period we have mentioned one dervish-order, the Bektashi, set the seal on their ascendancy by changing their already existing secret connexion with the

[1] F. Arnaud (1602), in de Vogüé, *Florilegium*, p. 471 ; Stochove, *Voyage*, p. 19.

[2] Le Bruyn, *Voyage*, i, 75 ; Spon, *Voyage*, i, 230.

[3] Tournefort, *Lett.* xxii ; Pococke, II, ii, 36.

[4] Monconys, *Voyages*, i, 424.

[5] Rycaut, *Greek and Armenian Churches*, p. 39.

[6] Carnoy and Nicolaides, *Folk-Lore de Constantinople*, p. 16 ff.

[7] The modern identification of ruins recently discovered in the vineyard by Père S. Lorenzo thus falls to the ground in so far as it is based on the travellers' reports I have attempted to summarize. The ruins themselves are indeterminate, and the supposed tombstone of S. Pionius (S. Lorenzo, p. 315) no more than a portion of a granite bench inscribed (not ΠΗΝΗV but) -ΛΗΝΗ : it is possibly from a tomb-exedra put under the protection of Sipylene (*cf. C.I.G.* 3385–7 incl.).

[8] See below, p. 611.

Janissaries into an official one.[1] This official connexion, backed by the sanction of the superstitious classes of the population, made the Janissary-Bektashi combination a very dangerous one during the succeeding period of weak monarchs and decadent national *moral*, and it continued to embarrass the Turkish government down to the abolition of the Janissaries and the fall of the Bektashi in 1826.

Recrudescent troubles with the Janissaries are one of the chief internal causes of the decay of the Ottoman power in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. In the seventeenth Osman II (1617–21) and Ibrahim (1640–8) made vain efforts to curtail their power, only to become their victims.[2] If we can point to one interlude of national revival, it is in the third quarter of the seventeenth century, notable for the last important extension of the Ottoman empire, the conquest of Crete. The cause of this revival lies, not in the ability of the sultan (Mohammed IV), but in that of his vizirs; it dates from the appointment of the elder (Mohammed) Kuprulu in 1656 and ends with the death of his son Ahmed in 1676. With the turn of the century the Janissary-Bektashi combination is again all-powerful.

The Kuprulus, father and son, attempted, not without temporary success, to make a stand against the power of the Janissaries in politics and the extraordinary prevalence of heterodoxy and superstition in religion, much of it due to dervish (*sufi*) influence, which threatened to undermine the Mohammedan faith in Turkey. A concrete instance of the expansion of the dervish sects about this time is afforded by the fact that one Kadri sheikh, Ismail Rumi (d. 1643), founded no less than forty-eight convents.[3] Rycaut gives a long account of the numerous heterodox sects existing about

[1] D'Ohsson, *Tableau*, iii, 325.

[2] Poullet, *Nouvelles Relations*, i, 307.

[3] Hammer-Hellert, *Hist. Emp. Ott.* xviii, 77.

this time, several of which, it is curious to note, were strongly impregnated with Christian ideas. Misri Efendi a celebrated Khalveti sheikh of Brusa, seems, like the founder of the Mevlevi, to have had leanings towards Christianity: he is said to have frequented the bishop of Brusa and openly to have commended the Gospel.[1] A sheikh of Akhisar, whose name and order have not come down to us, is said to have been converted by an Arabic translation of the Gospel [2] and to have suffered martyrdom for Christianity in 1649 with twenty-two of his followers.[3] This particular tendency is no doubt due on the one hand to the permeation of Turkish society by Christian renegades and on the other to intermarriage with Christian women. The general falling away from the principles of Islam is to be attributed to closer contact with Europe and decreasing conviction of the invincibility of Turkish arms, and, consequently, of the unique position of the Mohammedan faith.

The Kuprulu vizirs, regarding with apprehension these ominous symptoms, made a determined effort to root out the disease. Mohammed, called to office late in life for the express purpose of quelling an unusually dangerous rebellion of the Janissaries (1656), at once asserted his authority. Four thousand persons implicated in the movement, including several influential dervishes, were at once executed by his orders [4] and his

[1] Cantimir, *Hist. Emp. Oth.* ii, 228 f.

[2] For this see further Hasluck, *Letters*, p. 141.

[3] Carayon, *Rel. Inéd. de la Compagnie de Jésus*, pp. 228 ff.; *cf.* Pacifique, *Voyage de Perse*, p. 54, for an account of two converted dervishes martyred in Rhodes. *Cf.* Rycaut, *Ottoman Empire*, p. 64. The beginnings of this movement towards Christianity may be traced very much further back (see Jacob, *Bektaschijje*, p. 29, and Hauser's note on p. 146 of his edition of Du Fresne Canaye's *Voyage*).

[4] Hammer-Hellert, *op. cit.* xi, 17; d'Arvieux, *Mémoires*, iv, 559; Rycaut, *Ottoman Empire*, p. 65; *cf.* the same writer's *Hist. of the Turks*, p. 81 (*s. a.* 1649). Evliya says 400,000 rebels were killed in Anatolia by Kuprulu (I, i, 156).

influence was felt throughout the empire till his death. During his vizirate we hear vaguely of action against the dervish orders as such, apparently discriminating against the Mevlevi.[1] La Guilletière says that his son banished all dervishes in the European provinces to Asia Minor: in conformity with this order, the Parthenon at Athens, exploited according to him by dervishes as the centre of a superstitious cult, became once more an orthodox house of prayer.[2] A Bektashi (?) convent at Adrianople, long notorious for its scandals, was razed to the ground.[3]

In the vizirate of the younger Kuprulu, Ahmed, who followed his father's policy, appeared an important ally in Vani Efendi, a persuasive preacher of the strictest Sunni principles, who obtained a great influence over the orthodox Sultan. As a member of the Ulema party, Vani was the determined foe of the dervish orders, always suspected of heresy by the stricter Mussulmans.[4]

[1] T. Smith in Ray's *Voyages*, ii, 58; d'Ohsson, *Tableau*, ii, 311; Ubicini, *Turquie*, i, 110; Tournefort (letter xiv) ascribes the movement to Murad IV, probably wrongly, since the Mevlevi were considerably favoured in this reign (Hammer-Hellert, *Hist. Emp. Ott.* ix, 257, 316; d'Ohsson, *Tableau*, ii, 307) though they seem to have been implicated in the deposition (1648) of Sultan Ibrahim (Hammer-Hellert, ix, 285: *cf.* xi, 5). Stern (*Die Moderne Türkei*, p. 117) merely follows Hammer in his account of this persecution of the Mevlevi.

[2] See above, pp. 14–16.

[3] Rycaut, *Ottoman Empire*, p. 69; *cf.* Jacob, *Beiträge*, p. 15.

[4] On Vani Efendi see Hammer-Hellert, *op. cit.*, xi, 162 f., xii, 191, and xviii, 103. He was a native of Van and rose to eminence about 1664; after the siege of Vienna (1683), at which his prayers proved unsuccessful, he was banished to Kestel, near Brusa, where he died the following year. Contemporaries estimate him very differently. Hammer regards him as a great hypocrite and a sworn enemy of Jews and Christians (*op. cit.* xii, 191); his famous religious argument with Panayotes Nikusses (Sakkeliou in *Δελτίον Ἱστορ. Ἑταιρείας*, iii, 235; *cf.* Cantimir, ii, 61), being written from the Greek side, shows him in the worst light. But the less-known discussion with Sir Thomas Baines, reported by Covel (*Diaries*, pp. 269 f.), exhibits him as a very liberal-minded man, at least to Protestant (as 'non-idolatrous') Christianity.

His activity, which seems to date from 1664, was the religious counterpart of the political measures of the Kuprulus ; he opposed lawlessness in religion as they in politics. A strict Puritan, he made a strong stand against the mystic *sufi* doctrines professed by many members of the upper classes and the cult of saints and other superstitions in vogue among the lower. In 1670 he forbade the selling of wine,[1] laxity in regard to which has always been regarded as characteristic of the *sufi* sects. He banished the Khalveti dervish Sheikh Misri of Brusa and the Kadri Karabash Ali of Skutari, and condemned the mystic poets of his time.[2] He made an effort to abolish the piping of the Mevlevi,[3] and the public exercises of the dervishes in general.[4] His attempt to stamp out the superstitious cult of Kanbur Dede near Khavsa [5] in Thrace is typical of his general policy and that of the Kuprulu vizirs : it is in all probability paralleled by unrecorded action of the same sort elsewhere. The ' tomb of Polycarp ' is transferred from the keeping of Moslem dervishes to Greek monks by 1657.[6] The change may well have been due to the politico-religious movement we have described.

§ 4. *The Ruins on the Castle-hill*

We turn now to examine the ruins near the castle-gate and the theatre. The general position of this group of ruins is made certain by a consensus of seventeenth century authors of whom de Burgo and Tourne-

[1] Hammer-Hellert, *op. cit.* xi, 335.

[2] *Ibid.* xii, 45. For Misri see further Cantimir, *op. cit.* ii, 218 ff., 228 ff. ; Gibb, *Ottoman Poetry*, iii, 312.

[3] Rycaut, *Ottoman Empire*, p. 68.

[4] Covel, *Diaries*, p. 269 (' about 6 yeares since ' in 1676) ; but the Mevlevi were back into imperial favour by Covel's time (*ibid.*, p. 168).

[5] Hammer-Hellert, *op. cit.* xi, 250 (1667) ; the cult is probably identical with that of Sari Saltik at Eski Baba, below, pp. 431–2).

[6] The date of d'Arvieux' departure from Smyrna.

fort are the clearest.[1] The ruins included (1) the so-called chapel of S. Polycarp, a building of no pretensions, containing two compartments, and (2) near this and south-east of it [2] the conspicuous ruin shown in Le Bruyn's plate [3] as a large arch or apse flanked by tower-like projections. By some authors both these buildings are considered as parts of the cathedral of S. John,[4] while by others the second is regarded as a separate building and called by many names, of which, as distinctive, we shall adopt that of 'Judicatorium'.[5] The whole group of ruins seems to have been a good deal excavated by amateurs [6] and finally used as a quarry by the Turks in the latter half of the seventeenth century for the building of Sanjak Kale (1656) and certain mosques.[7] But considerable remains, especially of the 'Judicatorium', existed into the early part of the nineteenth century and are perhaps indicated in Storari's map [8] (*c.* 1855).

As regards the 'Judicatorium' we are well documented. Besides Le Bruyn's drawing we have a con-

[1] The former places them 200 paces from the castle (i, 460) and 100 from the 'amphitheatre' (i, 461).

[2] Pococke, II, ii, 36. [3] Reproduced in *B.S.A.* xx, Pl. XI.

[4] Certainly d'Arvieux (i, 50) (followed by Thévenot) and von Prokesch-Osten (quoted below). [5] Above, § 2, p. 418.

[6] Le Bruyn, i, 79:—'A une petite lieue de la Ville, en allant vers le Château, on trouve, à ce que l'on croit, l'endroit où étoit l'ancienne Smyrne [*cf.* Pacifique, quoted above, § 1, *ad init.*]; on y voit aussi encore quelques restes d'Antiquitez. C'est autour de-là qu'on trouve sous terre la plûpart des Statuës, comme il arriva dans le tems que je demeurois à Constantinople' [here follows an account of four statues sent to the French king, probably those mentioned in Gronovius *Mem. Cosson.* p. 36]. For other digging in this neighbourhood about the same period, see Galland's *Journal*, ii, 214 (1673) and *cf.* Omont, *Miss. Archéol.* i, 209 (1680).

[7] *Cf.* G. de Burgo (1686), i, 460:—della gran chiesa di S. Gio. Apostolo non resta altro che le fondamenta, hauendo gli Turchi portate via le pietre per fabbricare gli Castelli alla marina, sicome anche alcune Moschee.' [8] Reproduced in *B.S.A.* xx, Pl. X, 2.

temporary description by Smith, a plan by Drummond, and detailed notes by Pococke and von Prokesch-Osten. Smith's account is as follows :

'[Prope sepulchrum Polycarpi exstat] saxeum aedificium, quod judicatorium fuisse videtur, tria conclavia habens eidem solo insistentia, quorum medium duodecim fere ab omni latere passuum est. Frontispicium ipsius ornarunt quatuor columnae, quarum solae bases manent.' [1]

Pococke says of it :

'[There is a tradition that the cathedral church was built on the north side of the circus, which seems probable, there being some ruins that look like the remains of such a building ;] and to the south east of it there is a fabric of three rooms, which had a portico before it, the pillars of which are taken away . . . probably the synod room of the archbishop, whose house might have been between this and the church.' [2]

By far the clearest account of the building is Drummond's, who, though in doubt what to call it, took the trouble to secure a plan and measurements. The building is divided into three parallel compartments, communicating with each other by doorways in the party-walls. The whole was prefaced by a portico of four columns *in antis* (all missing). The central of the three compartments opened on the porch by a doorway, the others by windows. The dimensions of the building 'within the walls' were 50 × 27 feet, of the 'temple' 16 × 27 feet, and of the 'cloister' 13 × 27 feet. The main entrance was 10 feet wide, the side doors $3\frac{1}{2}$, and

[1] *Septem Ecclesiarum Notitia*, pp. 53 f.

[2] *Descr. of the East*, II, ii, 36. The Earl of Sandwich (*Voyage*, p. 308) makes the relative positions of the buildings rather clearer : 'Descending this hill [from the castle], on the south-west side, you discover an ancient building of large square stones very well cemented together, vulgarly called Homer's School [*i.e.* our "Judicatorium"] . . . A little lower is a small chapel consecrated to Saint Polycarp, whose sepulchre is to be seen at a small distance from it . . . Near this chapel are the remains of a stadium.'

the windows 3 feet. The walls were 4 feet thick.[1] There are some discrepancies in these measurements, but the general idea is given by the plan.

Von Prokesch-Osten's account of the same building, under the name of 'Chapel of S. Polycarp', shows that it did not suffer materially in the next hundred years:

'[Das Kirchlein des Heiligen Polykarpus] hoch auf dem westlichen Abfall des Schlossberges gelegen ist. Noch leben Viele, die sich des Gottesdienstes darin erinnern. Es bestand aus drei Räumen, länglich und klein, finster und enge, voll Nischen und Gewölben, und war aus Granitblöcken des Schlosses gebaut worden. In der linken Capelle soll der Predigtstuhl, in der mittleren ein Gnadenbild gestanden haben. Der Eingang ging durch einen von Säulen getragenen, bedeckten Vorhof. Die Säulen sind verschwunden, aber die Bogen greifen noch aus den Mauern vor.'[2]

From all these descriptions we gather a perfectly clear idea of the plan of the building. As to the elevation, for which Le Bruyn's drawing is our only source, we can only be certain that the central compartment was higher than the others. This arrangement, as suggesting a nave and aisles, has led to the supposition that the building was a church. Nothing in the plan, however, warrants that supposition: the absence of an apse is conclusive against it. The position, moreover, outside the medieval citadel and at the same time remote from the port, is not a likely one for a cathedral. All the buildings in this direction seem to belong to ancient, not to medieval, Smyrna.

[1] *Travels* (London, 1754), pp. 116 f. (plan faces p. 118).

[2] *Denkwürdigkeiten*, i, 520; see also this author in *Jahrbücher der Literatur* (Vienna), lxvii (1834), *Anzeigerbl.*, p. 62. The last vestiges of this building are marked on Storari's Plan of Smyrna (1855) as *Ruine*, between the castle gate and the south-east end of the stadium. Fontrier (*Rev. Ét. Anc.* ix, 114) says that this site is now occupied by a vineyard in which stone water-pipes have been found. The vineyard mentioned is the site of Père S. Lorenzo's supposed church and tomb of S. Polycarp.

It is further evident that our seventeenth-century authorities saw their 'church of S. John' in a great complex of ruined building, of which the 'Judicatorium', if included at all, is but a portion. De Burgo, for instance, gives the dimensions of the 'church of S. John' as 158 × 38 paces [1] or nearly as large as the court of the great mosque at Damascus. Smith's 'chapel of S. Polycarp' is joined to the 'Judicatorium' by a 'long series of vaults set in a row', evidently interpreted by some as the remains of the great church. Another interpretation is possible.

The late Dr. Weber, in his minute and learned study of the aqueducts of Smyrna, traces the 'high-pressure' aqueduct of Kara-Bunar step by step up to the very saddle of the castle hill where the 'Judicatorium' stood.[2] I have myself seen stone pipes from it hereabouts (in the vineyard of Père S. Lorenzo's discoveries),[3] and in recent times there has come to light at some spot on the castle hill an inscription [4] duplicating *C.I.G.* 3147 and recording repairs early in the reign of Hadrian to an aqueduct known from *C.I.G.* 3146 to have been built about A.D. 80.[5] The exact provenance of *C.I.G.* 3146, 3147, is unknown, but the finding of the second copy of the latter on the castle hill is strong evidence for connecting all three, not (as Dr. Weber) [6] with the lower (Ak-Bunar), but with the upper (Kara-Bunar)

[1] *Viaggio*, i, 461. [2] *Jahrbuch*, xiv, 4 ff.

[3] *Cf.* Fontrier, *Rev. Ét. Anc.* ix, 114, cited above.

[4] *Μουσεῖον*, 1880, p. 139 (181), now in the Greek Museum at Smyrna :—'*Τραιανοῦ* | *ὕδατος ἀποκα*|*ταστα*θέντος | *ὑπὸ Βαιβίου Τούλ*|*λου ἀνθυπάτου*.' The text is a duplicate of C.I.G. 3147 = Dittenberger, *Orient. Gr. Inscrr.* no. 478, now at Trinity College, Cambridge. For the date see Weber, *loc. cit.*, p. 174.

[5] For this date see Weber, *loc. cit.*, and Dittenberger, *Orient Gr. Inscrr.* no. 477. Smith (p. 53) found a dedication to Hadrian built into the 'chapel of S. Polycarp'.

[6] *Jahrbuch*, xiv, 167, 174. Dr. Weber seems to have been biassed by his opinion that the temple of Zeus Akraios stood on 'Windmill Hill'.

aqueduct. Dr. Weber found no trace of any aqueduct within the walls of the fortress, but odd blocks of stone piping, apparently from the Kara-Bunar aqueduct, have been discovered near the theatre, and in the Upper Quarter of the Greeks,[1] both on the slopes of the castle hill.

It is tempting to suggest that the 'Judicatorium' formed the ornamental terminus of the Kara-Bunar aqueduct or *Aqua Traiana*. The high site on the saddle of the castle hill was particularly fitted for one of these buildings, generally called *nymphaea*, which served the double purpose of public fountains and *dividicula* or points for the distribution of water by smaller channels to different parts of a town. The three 'narrow and dark' chambers of the 'Judicatorium' may have been cisterns or settling chambers for the water.

Fine specimens of this class of monument are to be found elsewhere in Asia Minor, at Aspendus, and especially Side.[2] The 'exedra of Herodes' at Olympia is a monument of the same order. If, as is not impossible, such a building stood on the castle hill at Smyrna, and especially if it formed one end of a public open space such as an *agora*,[3] the mistake of the earlier travellers is readily explained. The debris of such a group of buildings, with its colonnades and lines of shops and the triple building at one end, might easily suggest an immense ruined church with a number of fallen side-chapels and the chancel still standing. But excavation alone can turn such conjectures into proof.

[1] Weber, *loc. cit.*, pp. 19 f.

[2] Durm, *Baukunst der Römer*, pp. 168 ff.: Lanckoronski, *Städte Pamphyliens und Pisidiens*, i, Pl. xxx (Side).

[3] For an *agora* in a similar position between lower town and citadel we may compare those of Assos and Pergamon. Ramsay (*Seven Churches*, p. 260, *cf.* Calder in *Studies in History and Art*, &c., p. 104) conjectures that the Golden Street of Smyrna ended in the neighbourhood of our hypothetical *agora*

XXXII

SARI SALTIK [1]

§ 1. At Kaliakra

THE legend of Sari Saltik, set down by Evliya Efendi in the middle of the seventeenth century from particulars retailed to him by the dervishes of Kaliakra (Kilgra) near Varna,[2] is an example of the growth of religious myth not without value for the appreciation of similar tales in Greek and other mythologies. It has also a more positive interest as shedding some light on that very obscure subject, the influence of the dervish orders on Turkish religion and politics. The main points of the story are as follows :

A certain dervish, by name Mohammed Bokhara, called also Sari Saltik Sultan, who was a disciple of the celebrated Khoja Ahmed of Yasi [d. A.D. 1166–7] and a companion of Haji Bektash [d. A.D. 1337], came to the court of the Ottoman sultan Orkhan [1326–60], and after the conquest of Brusa was sent with seventy disciples into Europe. In his missionary journey Sari Saltik visited the Crimea, Muscovy, and Poland : at Danzig he killed the patriarch ' Svity Nikola ', and, assuming his robes, in this guise made many converts to Islam.[3]

He also delivered the kingdom of Dobruja from a seven-headed dragon, to which the two daughters of

[1] A much poorer version of this chapter appeared in *B.S.A.* xix (1912–3), pp. 203–8.

[2] Travels, ii, 70–72, *cf.* 20, 21.

[3] This curious incident is twice related : (I, ii, 245) 'Saltuk Mohammed went disguised into Poland, killed the monk Sari Saltuk, whose name he took, and dwelt in his cell ' ; (ii, 70) ' At Danzig he conversed with Svity Nicola the patriarch, whose name is the same as Sari Saltuk whom he killed, adopted his habit, and by this means converted many thousands to Islam.'

the king were exposed as victims, cutting off first three, and then the remaining four, of its heads with a wooden sword. During this adventure, a monk picked up the ears and tongues of the three heads first cut off and, armed with these trophies, claimed to have slain the dragon himself.[1] Sari Saltik then proposed an ordeal of fire [2] to decide the rival claims. Both he and the monk were bound and put into an immense cauldron (*kazan*, whence, according to the legend, the name of the Kazan Balkan in Bulgaria). This was placed on the fire, whereupon the monk was burnt to death but Sari Saltik suffered no hurt. The king of Dobruja was in consequence converted to Islam.

Before his death the saint gave orders that his body should be placed in seven coffins, since seven kings should contend for its possession. This came to pass: each king took a coffin, and each coffin was found, when opened, to contain the body. The seven kingdoms blessed by the possession of the saint's remains are given as (1) Muscovy, where the saint is held in great honour as Svity Nikola (S. Nicolas); (2) Poland, where his tomb at Danzig is much frequented; (3) Bohemia, where the coffin was shown at 'Pezzunijah'; (4) Sweden, which possessed a tomb at 'Bivanjah'; (5) Adrianople, near which (at Eski Baba) is another tomb; (6) Moldavia, where the tomb was shown at Baba Dagh; and (7) Dobruja, in which district was the convent of Kaliakra containing the seventh tomb. The veracious history concludes with the remark that 'in Christian

[1] The incident of the false claim is a well-known episode in folk stories of dragon slayings (Hartland, *Perseus*, iii, 47; Cosquin, *Contes de Lorraine*, i, 61; Monnier, *Contes Populaires en Italie*, p. 288; *cf.* below p. 434). In the Near East it figures in the Bulgarian legend of S. Elias (Shishmanova, *Légendes Relig. Bulg.*, pp. 87 ff.) as well as in the Turkish of Sari Saltik.

[2] For the ordeal by fire of the 'monks' of Sidi Ghazi see Hottinger, *Hist. Orient.*, p. 477; possibly also in George of Hungary, see below, p. 498.

countries Sari Saltuk is generally called S. Nicolas, is much revered, and Christian monks ask alms under his auspices.'

§ 2. At Eski Baba

Of the seven towns said to have contained tombs of Sari Saltik, four, if we include 'Muscovy' as referring to the Crimea, are in lands actually conquered by the Turks, three in Christian Europe. The fable of the existence of the latter group can be dismissed at once as based on nothing more than the arbitrary identification of Sari Saltik with S. Nicolas.[1] In the case of three of the four Turkish tombs we can supplement, and to some extent check, Evliya's legend.

The Kaliakra tomb, in a ruined fortress of the same name on a headland north of Varna, is still visited by local Christians as that of S. Nicolas.[2] It is probable that this was the original (pre-Mohammedan) dedication of the sanctuary; it is certainly appropriate to the coast-site, and the fortress of Kaliakra was in Byzantine hands till A.D. 1370[3] so that it is difficult to imagine a break in the cult. The 'tomb' at Eski Baba was, and is, a famous sanctuary, frequented for healing both by Greeks and Turks. The building is said to be an old Greek church of S. Nicolas.[4] The association with Sari

[1] This saint is evidently chosen, not only because one or two of the sanctuaries occupied by Sari Saltik had been churches of S. Nicolas (see below, p. 578), but also on account of the extraordinary popularity of the latter in the countries first touched by the propaganda, Russia and Bulgaria. Bulgarian peasants are said to believe that, when God dies, S. Nicolas will succeed him (Slade, *Travels in Turkey*, 2nd ed., p. 344).

[2] For its frequentation by Turks see below, p. 578.

[3] *Cf. Acta Patr.* i, 95, 528, in Miklosich and Müller, *Acta et Diplom. Gr.*

[4] J. Covel, *Diaries* (1675), p. 186: 'This Church [of. S Nicolas] is standing pretty intire. It is but little . . . but very handsome, in the same forme almost with Sta. Sophia, with a great *Cupola* over the body of it; but the outward wall is scaloped.' Eski Baba is mentioned under that name, thus implying the cult, as early as 1553 (Verantius,

Saltik seems to be late and arbitrary;[1] the saint was locally known as Kanbur Dede ('S. Humpback').[2] Baba Dagh, which appears to have been the starting point of the cult in Europe, will be discussed in the next section.

§ 3. At Baba Dagh

If such a story as that of Sari Saltik were told by Pausanias of prehistoric Greeks, it would be interpreted as an echo either of a movement of peoples, a conquest, or, at the very least, commercial or missionary activity, extending far beyond the limits which we know in the present case to be credible. Even with the historical background we possess, any interpretation of the story which pretends to disentangle the medley of fact and fiction contained in it must be regarded as tentative. The following claims to be no more than a suggestion.

The town of Baba Dagh in Moldavia was founded by Bayezid II in 1489 and colonized with Tatars.[3] In all probability a pre-existing Christian cult was then mohammedanized. The Mohammedan saint with whom the site was associated is most likely identical with Baba Saltuk, a saint who had given his name already half a century earlier to a town near Sudak in the Crimea.[4]

ap. Jireček, *Heerstrasse*, p. 167). For other references see above, pp. 54–5 and for texts below, pp. 761–3.

[1] The existence of a village Saltiklu in the vicinity may have aided the identification.

[2] For further details see above, p. 55, and notes.

[3] Hadji Khalfa, *Rumeli und Bosna*, p. 28; Hammer-Hellert, *Hist. Emp. Ott.* xvi, 247; *cf.* Vassif Efendi, *Guerre de 1769–74*, p. 281. Sari Saltik is consistently associated with Tatars. His great missionary successes were among the Tatars of Heshdek in Muscovy and Lipka in Poland (Evliya, I, ii, 245; *cf.* ii, 70). Apart from his connexion with the Bektashi he was claimed as patron by the guild of buza-makers, who, says Evliya, 'are for the greater part Tatar gipsies' (I, ii, 245): it should be remarked also that *buza* is yellow (*sari*) in colour (it is a fermented liquor made from barley).

[4] Ibn Batuta, tr. Sanguinetti, ii, 416, 445. There may be also a contamination between *Saltik of Bokhara* and *Satok Bogra*, Khan of

We may well imagine that Baba Saltuk was a tribal saint [1] imported by the Tatar colonists to Baba Dagh.

Bayezid's foundation at Baba Dagh included, as Evliya tells us, a mosque, an *imaret*, a college, a bath, a *khan*, and a monument of the saint. In all probability dervishes were attached to the cult from the first ; by these or their successors Sari Saltik was brought into the cycle of Haji Bektash, the reputed founder of the Bektashi order. The basis of the legend of the seven coffins and seven tombs is probably to be sought in some folk-story turning on the immense size of the hero.[2] This legend was used for the purposes of their own religious propaganda by the Bektashi dervishes, who probably occupied, or justified their occupation of, the two other sanctuaries of Rumeli on this pretext.[3] The further extension of the legend to non-Ottoman countries may perhaps be considered as politico-religious propaganda, devised again by the Bektashi in their character of warrior-dervishes,[4] to stimulate good Mohammedans to the conquest of the lands in which the saint's reputed tombs lay.[5] The identification of Sari Saltik with the Christian S. Nicolas is only one of the many

Turkestan, a semilegendary personage of the tenth century who is credited with having been the first Turkish ruler to embrace Islam (see Grenard in *Journ. Asiat.* xv (1900), pp. 5 ff). The mention of a dervish *Sari Salte* in a Kurdish folk-story (Jaba, *Recueil de Récits Kurdes*, p. 94) may mark a stage in the westward journey of the Sari Saltik myth, or may be due merely to Bektashi propaganda in Kurdistan.

[1] See also below, p. 576, n. 3.

[2] *Cf.* the similar legend of Digenes Akritas (Polites, Παραδόσεις, no. 131) : it is hard to distinguish cause and effect since this type of legend may equally well arise from a desire to reconcile conflicting claims to a hero's remains. See above, pp. 234 ff.

[3] They were said to claim as their own any saints called Baba, see below, p. 567, and note 4.

[4] Their connexion with the Janissaries is well known, see above, pp. 419 ff.

[5] The fiction of the three tombs in Christendom may, however, have been devised merely to bring the total up to the mystic number seven.

manifestations of their philosophic creed that all religions are one. The sanctuaries of Kaliakra and Eski Baba are, as we have seen, probably old churches of S. Nicolas.

The incident of the ordeal by fire to decide between the rival claims of Sari Saltik and the Christian monk suggests that a Christian saint was supplanted, and from the dragon legend (located at Kaliakra) we should naturally infer that this saint was S. George. But in a nearly identical Bulgarian folk-story,[1] which includes the episodes of (1) the rescue of the princess, (2) the vindication of the dragon-slayer against a false claim, and (3) the conversion of the king, the hero is the Prophet Elias. On the other hand, in a Bosnian variant both S. Elias and S. George are introduced, each in his proper character, the former as the sender of thunder, the latter as a dragon-slayer.[2] The Bulgarian legend may be a compression of this.

Whatever saint was supplanted, we know from contemporary history that such a transition from Christianity to Islam is quite possible in the Crimea and the Balkans. If we had no history to guide us, we might logically assume that the slaying of 'Svity Nikola' at Danzig, a legend very similar in form, implied the victory of Islam here also, after which we should proceed to accept the successful propagation of Islam in Muscovy, Bohemia, and Sweden likewise as historical fact.

§ 4. At Kruya

The Sari Saltik legend has spread further to Albania, where the 'S. George' type of legend was evidently

[1] L. Shishmanova, *Légendes Relig. Bulg.*, pp. 87 ff. The lake here mentioned as the abode of the dragon points to Baba Dagh rather than Kaliakra as the place where this story was localized. But both places were probably brought into the story like Kruya and Alessio (see below, pp. 435–6) in Albania. A localized (?) S. George legend from Varna is given by Polites in *Λαογραφία*, iv, 234. For another account of S. Elias and the dragon see *Sbornik za narodni oumotvorenia*, vol. v.

[2] Hartland, *Perseus*, iii. 41.

already current.[1] The episode of Sari Saltik and the dragon is located near Kruya, and the importation of the *nameh* of the hero is certainly to be attributed to the Bektashi sect, who are specially influential in this part of Albania. At Kruya the dragon lived by day in a cave and by night in a church. Sari Saltik arrived at the town *incognito*, assuming the part of a humble dervish, the day before the sacrifice of the King's daughter was to take place. In the morning, he accompanied the princess on her way to the dragon's haunt, armed with a wooden sword and a cypress staff. With the latter he produced a miraculous spring, with the former he cut off the dragon's seven heads, putting the points of the seven tongues in his pocket. He then retired to obscurity. The princess's hand being offered to her unknown deliverer, the 'false claim' episode is developed, but the 'Christian monk' does not figure. The true hero, Sari Saltik, is at length discovered, resigns the hand of the princess, and claims only the right to live as a hermit in the dragon's cave. This being granted, he lives there till he is told by the man who brings him his food that the people of the land are plotting against his life, and that he is in imminent danger. On hearing this, the saint throws the melon he was about to eat, with his knife in it, into the air, and they remain to this day, turned to stone in the roof of his cave. He himself retired to Corfu in three strides, which are marked by a footprint at each stage (Kruya,[2] Bazaar Shiakh, Durazzo); eventually he died at Corfu.[3]

Here again, rationalizing on orthodox lines, we should

[1] For the secular form see von Hahn, *Alban. Studien*, ii, 167. The legend of S. Donatus in the Chimarra district (M. Hamilton, *Greek Saints*, pp. 32 f.) is of similar type. The fight of S. George and the dragon is localized also in Old Serbia (Mackenzie and Irby, *Turks, Greeks, and Slavons*, pp. 672 f.).

[2] This footprint (called *Jurmi Scheintit*) is in a chapel half an hour from the town of Kruya (Ippen, *Skutari*, p. 77).

[3] Degrand, *Haute Albanie*, pp. 236 ff.

suppose that Islam, represented by Sari Saltik, had but a short-lived victory at Kruya, and was eventually forced to retire; but why to Corfu, which has never been Turkish? In the light of history we might infer that the ejected dragon-slayer was in reality not Sari Saltik, but his Christian predecessor, possibly S. George, whom the Albanians of Alessio claimed as a compatriot.[1] But this is probably at best but a partial explanation. The figure of Sari Saltik is amongst other things a stalking-horse for Bektashi propaganda amongst Christians. Like the Mevlevi, the Bektashi order has always been conciliatory to Christianity;[2] the number of its adherents in Albania, especially in the district of Koritza, many villages of which are said to have been converted within the last hundred years to Islam, or rather to Bektashism, shows that their policy has had considerable success. It is for the purposes of this propaganda that the identification of Sari Saltik with the universally popular Christian saint Nicolas was devised. Other important local saints were identified in the same manner. Examples are S. Naum, the Christian healer of Lake Okhrida, to whom Bektashi of the Koritza district make pilgrimage as Sari Saltik,[3] and S. Spyridon the patron of Corfu.[4] The latter identification is the explanation of the Bektashi legend of the 'flight' of Sari Saltik to the Christian island.

[1] W. Wey, *Itineraries* (1462), p. 119. This is a confusion with George Kastriotes (Skanderbeg). It was to Alessio that Sari Saltik after his victory threw the carcase of the dragon; *Lesh*, the Albanian name of the town, signifies *corpse* (Degrand, *op. cit.*, pp. 174, 238; *cf.* von Hahn, *op. cit.* i, 137).

[2] See especially below, pp. 564 ff. For the tolerant attitude of a Hurufi dervish in the fifteenth century see below, p. 568, n. 3. The traces of Christianity in Bektashi doctrine are discussed at length by Jacob, *Bektaschijje*, pp. 29 ff.

[3] F. W. H. from a Greek priest at S. Naum.

[4] Miss Durham heard this at Kruya (*Burden of the Balkans*, p. 304), I from a southern Albanian Bektashi at Uskub, from the sheikh of the *tekke* at Aivali in Thessaly, and from the (Greek) abbot of S. Naum.

Possibly similar propaganda purposes explain the variations in a version of the Kilgra legend found by Degrand in a manuscript at Tirana in Albania.[1] This manuscript is said by Jacob [2] to be the *Vilayet nameh* of Hajim Sultan, a sixteenth century Bektashi saint whose tomb is venerated near Ushak in Asia Minor.[3] In this version Sari Saltik ordered forty coffins to be prepared after his death, and, as in the other legend of the seven coffins, each of them was found to contain his body. The king of the Dobruja examined the forty corpses, and, observing that one of them moved its hand, decided that this was the genuine body of the dead saint. He therefore buried it in the centre of a circle formed by the other thirty-nine. This looks like an attempt to attach the legend of Sari Saltik to some locality associated with the Forty Saints, possibly Kirk Kilise in Thrace,[4] or even SS. Quaranta in Albania.[5]

§ 5. Bektashi Propaganda

Side by side with such adoptions or attempted adoptions by the Bektashi of Christian saints and sanctuaries we find the converse phenomenon, viz., the adoption by Christians of Bektashi saints and sanctuaries with the consent, or even encouragement, of the Bektashi. Examples are the identification of the *tekke* of Aivali in Thessaly with the site of a monastery dedicated to S. George,[6] of the *tekke* of Sersem Ali at Kalkandelen with an earlier monastery of S. Elias,[7] and of the central

[1] *Haute Albanie*, pp. 240 ff.

[2] *Beiträge*, p. 2, n. 4. The work is also mentioned by Browne in *J. R. Asiat. Soc.* 1907, p. 561 (3).

[3] Jacob, *Bektaschijje*, p. 27.

[4] See above, p. 397.

[5] For the 'ruined' monastery containing forty underground chambers, at SS. Quaranta see Hasluck, *Letters*, p. 10, and pl. 6. Ali of Yannina whose connexion with the Bektashi and the Sari Saltik legend is discussed below, restored the adjoining fortress (Petrides in *Παρνασσός*, ii, 642; *cf.* Leake, *N. Greece*, i, 11.). But a Bektashi *tekke* has never existed there.

[6] Below, p. 582.

[7] *Ibid.*

Bektashi *tekke* near Kirshehr in Anatolia with an ancient monastery of S. Charalambos.[1]

We find thus in our own times, as in those of Ala-ed-din of Konia,[2] a distinct *rapprochement* between an order of dervishes and popular Christianity, probably forwarded by the dervishes with a view to establishing a common basis of religion for both creeds. In the area touched by the Bektashi, as in the Mevlevi radius, the chief outward manifestation of this *rapprochement* is the attempt to render certain sanctuaries accessible to both parties by pious fictions.[3] The Bektashi undoubtedly aimed at an ultimate religious supremacy in the countries touched by their propaganda. At the time of the Turkish revolution they had still hopes of a Bektashi state in Albania.[4] Such a religious supremacy could hope to hold its own if supported by a sympathetic civil power. As regards the Mevlevi movement at Konia, we have hinted at such an alliance between the Mevlevi, represented by their founder, Jelal-ed-din, and the ruling house.[5] In the case of Albania the evidence for a similar combination is much stronger. There, particularly in southern Albania,[6] Bektashism, though Asiatic in origin, has now its chief stronghold. Even in such places as Crete and Lycia the majority of professed dervishes of the order seem to be Albanians. If the grave of Sersem Ali at Kalkandelen is genuine, Bektashism must have been introduced into this country before 1550.[7]

Mohammedanism of any sort in Albania is of com-

[1] Below, p. 571. [2] Above, pp. 370 ff. [3] Below, pp. 564–96.
[4] This I have on good Bektashi authority. [5] Above, p. 377.
[6] Brailsford (*Macedonia*, p. 244) goes so far as to say that 'nearly every Albanian—at all events in the South—who has any interest in religion at all, is a member of the Bektashi sect.'
[7] Jacob, *Bektaschijje*, p. 27. A false prophet, claiming to be an incarnation of Ali, appeared in Albania in 1607 (*Ambassade de Gontaut Biron*, p. 138). See, however, below, p. 524.

paratively recent date, the Turkish conquest having been late and partial. Before it the population was Christian. There was little or no colonization of the country by genuine Turks, as was the case in some other parts of Rumeli: the Moslem Albanians to-day thus represent to a very large extent Christians converted at various dates.[1] The southern part of the country (Epirus) remains to this day a patchwork of Christians and Mohammedans, many of the latter being converts of the last hundred and fifty years and adherents of the Bektashi. This is the country which once bid fair to become an independent state under Ali Pasha of Yannina (d. 1822), who owed his power, firstly, to his own astounding energy and force of character and, secondly, to his alliance with the Bektashi, of which a full account is given elsewhere.[2]

We shall there find evidence of Ali's interest in Bektashi propaganda in his own district of Yannina and at Kruya, both of which districts are to-day strongly Bektashi, in Thessaly, a province which came under his political influence, and at Skutari, where his designs were evidently discovered and thwarted in time. It is thus extremely probable that the Bektashi under Ali's auspices were responsible for much of the recent conversion to apparent Islam in Epirus and elsewhere,[3] and that the phenomena which we barely detect in Seljuk Konia during the thirteenth century were repeated only a hundred years ago in Albania. It is even possible that Ali's well-known designs on the Ionian islands[4] are partially or wholly responsible for the identification of S. Spyridon of Corfu with the Bektashi saint Sari Saltik.

[1] For the conversion of Albania see T. Arnold, *Preaching of Islam*, pp. 152 ff.

[2] Below, pp. 586 ff.

[3] For the part possibly played by the rise of Russia in these forced conversions to Islam see below, p. 471.

[4] Beauchamp, *Vie d'Ali Pacha*, pp. 163, 194; Holland, *Travels*, i, 405, 450.

XXXIII

S. JOHN 'THE RUSSIAN'

S. JOHN 'the Russian', whose body is preserved at Urgub, is a little-known Greek neo-saint [1] of great local repute. According to the official tradition,[2] the saint was made prisoner in Russia [3] at the age of fifteen by the Turks during their wars with Peter the Great, and served a local *bey* at Urgub for many years as stable-boy, retaining his faith, whereas his fellow-captives became Turks, thereby, of course, bettering their condition considerably. S. John died in 1738 and on 27 May, the anniversary of his death, his sainthood was duly established by the appearance on his grave of a supernatural light.[4] Miracles by him begin to be recorded as early as 1837, when his body was preserved intact in a fire. In the sixties S. John is said to have appeared to a woman who had lost her child and to have revealed to her that it had been murdered and by whom. Another miracle said to have been wrought by the saint during his lifetime is an obvious plagiarism from Turkish hagiology. It relates how the poor stable-boy miraculously conveyed to his master, then on pilgrimage at Mecca, a plate of *pilaf*, which duly arrived smoking hot.[5] The same fact is related of at least two Turkish saints.[6]

In the nineties [7] a large church was built to enshrine

[1] For neo-saints see below, pp. 452–9.

[2] This is given by Oberhummer and Zimmerer, *Durch Syrien*, pp. 211 f. A *Life* of the saint is said to be on sale at Urgub and at the Russian monastery on Athos, but I have not seen it.

[3] He is generally called *Προκόπιος*, which suggests Perekop in Russia as his place of origin, but on the whole it is not likely that natives of Urgub would know his Russian birthplace.

[4] Kinneir, *Journey through Asia Minor*, p. 88. For sainthood revealed by supernatural lights see above, p. 254.

[5] Oberhummer and Zimmerer, *op. cit.*, p. 211, n.

[6] See above, p. 293.

[7] Archelaos, *Σίνασος*, p. 117.

the remains: the building was completed by funds raised by the sale of the saint's right hand to certain Russian monks of Athos.[1] It appears to be preserved at the *skete* of the Thebaid.[2] At the same time, probably, a conventional picture of the saint, framed in smaller ones representing his miracles, was painted, of which prints are sold in the church.[3]

As regards the real date of S. John, it is probably about a century later than the traditional. It is in the first place remarkable that he is not mentioned by the Archbishop Cyril,[4] who described Urgub in 1815. In the second, Kinneir,[5] who passed through Yuzgat in 1813, found there a considerable number of Russian prisoners from the war of 1807–8, who had renounced their faith, like S. John's companions, married Turkish women and settled down in the country. It seems highly probable that the neo-saint of Urgub is to be referred to the same period.[6] That is, he may have refused to renegade with his companions and may have been popularly canonized accordingly.

[1] Oberhummer and Zimmerer, *op. cit.*, p. 212; Pharasopoulos, *Τὰ Σύλατα*, pp. 72, 95; Smyrnakes, *Ἅγιον Ὄρος*, p. 674.

[2] Smyrnakes, *loc. cit.* [3] F. W. H.

[4] *Περιγραφή*. Rizos, *Καππαδοκικὰ* (1856) also does not mention the cult: he mostly copies Cyril, however.

[5] *Journey through Asia Minor*, p. 88 (quoted above, p. 97, n. 2).

[6] French deserters from the army of Egypt established themselves in the service of local *beys*: they renegaded, took Turkish names, and had harems, slaves, &c., and, though (southern) French of no birth or education, enjoyed considerable privileges among their new co-religionists (Chateaubriand, *Itinér.* iii, 87). Hottinger, *Hist. Orient.*, p. 462, cites from George of Hungary cases of voluntary conversions among natives of Bosnia, Albania, Serbia, who came, poor, to work in Turkish towns and found it to their material advantage to renegade. Establishing the probable date of S. John 'the Russian' is not without importance for the theory of the presence of 'Galatians' remarked in Asia Minor by Ramsay and others. In general, in dealing with transported populations the *latest* date of the supposed immigration is the best: the alleged 'Galatians' may be no more than the descendants of the Russian prisoners of the war of 1807–8.

XXXIV

RENEGADE SAINTS

IN 1270 S. Louis, king of France, died of a fever on the site of Carthage, while crusading against the Moors of Tunis : his remains were embalmed and duly buried in his native land. In 1841, on the spot where the royal saint breathed his last, the government of Louis Philippe erected a commemorative cenotaph in the Arab style.[1] Twenty years later Beulé, in his *Fouilles à Carthage*,[2] notes the curious local tradition there current to the effect that S. Louis was identical with a *marabut* named Bu Said, patron saint of a village of the same name in the immediate neighbourhood. The pious Christian, the story ran, had before his death embraced Islam and assumed a Mohammedan name.

To those familiar with the vagaries of popular canonization in Mohammedan countries,[3] the existence of a Mohammedan cult of S. Louis will cause little surprise. There is every probability that the tradition is, as Beulé suggests, late,[4] and that its immediate cause was the erection of the French cenotaph in the style of the country. For the Tunisian peasant such a monument implies a saint : the presumed occupant of S. Louis's cenotaph doubtless proved no less gracious to his petitioners than any other *marabut*, while the legend of S. Louis's conversion and his identity with Sidi Bu Said

[1] Poiré, *Tunisie Française*, pp. 126 f., quoting Beulé, *Fouilles à Carthage*, p. 17 : *cf.* L. Michel, *Tunis*, p. 238. Montet (*Culte des Saints Musulmans*, p. 24) found that the Moslems of Tunis venerate S. Louis. Sébillot (*Folk-Lore de France*, iv, 344) quotes Michel's account.

[2] P. 17.

[3] See above, pp. 255–7.

[4] For instance, Chateaubriand gives a long account of the death of S. Louis at Carthage, but makes no mention of any local tradition (*Itinér.* iii, 196).

accounted for the apparent anomaly of a Christian saint's efficacy as intercessor for Moslems.

The legend is particularly interesting as focussing several ideas widely current in Mohammedan circles and often closely paralleled, as we shall see, in Christian hagiology. These ideas predicate a special aptitude for sainthood in persons spontaneously converted from the rival religion—*animae naturaliter islamicae*—whose secret leaning towards the true faith is often manifested only by posthumous miracles. Inside this class, potentates and men of authority like S. Louis form a characteristic and interesting category.

We may take first the Franciscan legend of the deathbed conversion of the sultan of Egypt.[1] The legend is history up to a certain point, S. Francis being really received by the sultan and well treated.[2] The tale goes on that the sultan was so much impressed by the preaching and personality of S. Francis that he gave him every facility for preaching. The saint, however, saw that his mission was more profitable elsewhere, and decided to leave the country. On his taking leave of the sultan the latter said he was prepared to embrace Christianity, but that, if he did so, both he himself and S. Francis would be assassinated. S. Francis therefore promised that after his death he would send two friars who would baptize and so save him. It happened that after S. Francis's death the sultan, being ill and on the point of death, remembered this promise and stationed guards on all his frontiers with orders to conduct to him at once two Franciscan friars, if they should appear. At the same time S. Francis appeared to two friars and ordered them to go to the sultan and save his soul. Thus, the sultan received absolution and died in a state of grace.[3]

[1] *Fioretti* of S. Francis, ch. xxiv.

[2] Castries, *L'Islam*, pp. 339 ff., citing William of Tyre *ap.* D. Martène, *Collect. Maxima*, v, 689.

[3] *Cf.* the similar stories of Shems-ed-din secretly converted to

With the Franciscan story may be compared that of the supposed conversion to Islam of the emperor Heraclius. It is, I believe, historical that Mohammed sent to him, as to other potentates of his time, an embassy which seems to have been less rudely received by Heraclius than by the others.[1] 'Arab writers boast that he was really converted to Islamism',[2] in conformity with which tradition the Turks treated as a saint's a remarkable sarcophagus discovered about 1837 in or near the arsenal at Galata and reputed that of Heraclius.[3] In this and the Franciscan stories polite treatment from a potentate of a rival religion is considered explicable only on the hypothesis that the potentate was secretly in favour of the religion represented by the persons politely treated.[4]

Christianity (see above, pp. 87, 376), of the converted slave whose tomb is venerated at Tatar Bazarjik (see above, p. 206), and the caliph El Hakim, said by the Copts to have ended his days in a convent (see below, p. 450, n. 2).

[1] See above, p. 355, n. 1.

[2] Gibbon, *Decline and Fall*, ed. Bury, v, 395 (quoted above, p. 355, n. 1).

[3] Miss Pardoe, *City of the Sultans*, i, 420 f., quoted above, pp. 354–5.

[4] In the same way Christian tradition represents (see Collin de Plancy, *Dict. des Reliques*, i, 284–6) Gamaliel as a crypto-Christian because of his treatment of the Apostles (*Acts*, v, 34 ff.). Similarly, Publius of Malta (*Acts*, xxviii, 7 ff.) has a church in Città Vecchia (Baedeker, *S. Italy*, p. 445). Rubriquis says that the Nestorians considered several heathen potentates Christians, simply because they had treated Christians well (Baring Gould, *Curious Myths*, 1st Series, ii, p. 50). Fabri says the Soldan of his time (Kotube, presumably Kait Bey) was kindly disposed to Christians and should be prayed for: his conversion even to Christianity was not impossible, if a Christian, 'maturus, eloquens, et auctoritativus', were to read to him what Magister Nicolaus de Cusa had said about the Koran (*Evagat.* i, 478). The younger Pliny is supposed to have been converted by Titus in Crete (Migne, *Dict. des Apocryphes*, ii, 1047): the tale may have been concocted at Como, but probably arose from a combination of the mildness of Pliny's letters about the Christians, the conversion by Titus in Crete of a proconsul Secundus, and the existence at Como of a S. Secundus, one of the Theban Legion.

In contradistinction to such a fortuitously Moslem saint as S. Louis, authentic renegade saints, of which there are probably numerous examples, admit of a rational explanation. A convert to Islam is not unnaturally regarded as a person specially illuminated by God, being thus enabled to see the true faith in spite of the errors of his upbringing. There is ground for such a supposition in the fact that real converts see themselves in this light: for instance, S. Paul and S. Augustine, converted by instantaneous miracle in the one case and after a long spiritual struggle in the other, assumed that their conversion was proof of their election and framed their theory of predestination accordingly.[1] In Islam the idea is assisted by a passage of the Koran which says, 'They unto whom we have given the scriptures which were revealed before it [the Koran], believe in the same; and when it is read unto them, say, We believe therein; it is certainly the truth from our Lord: *verily we were Moslems before this. These shall receive their reward twice.*'[2]

The prototype of the spontaneous convert is of course Abraham,[3] who, according to Talmudic and Koranic tradition, was the son of an idolater divinely called to the worship of the True God. Similar conversions are related of saints in historical times. At Bagdad is the tomb of Maaruf Cerchi Abu Daher, who was born of Christian parents but steadfastly refused to recognize the Trinity by repeating the formula, 'In the name of

[1] That is, they consider that, since they were neither born nor coerced into Christianity, God had obviously sought them out for His purposes and taken trouble to secure them. Paul lays stress on his extreme Judaism and Augustine on his stormy past as incongruous things, just as cruder people almost boast of what sinners they have been before conversion. To such minds the only inference possible is that they have been in some way chosen arbitrarily.

[2] Sale's ed. (Chandos Classics), ch. xxviii, p. 294.

[3] For pre-Islamic Moslems and pre-Christian Christians see above, pp. 72–3.

the Father,' &c., for which he substituted the Mohammedan monotheistic invocation, ' In the name of God, all merciful '. His mother punished him by shutting him up in a dark cellar and feeding him on bread and water, evidently supposing him to be obsessed by a demon. Maaruf refused the bread and water and was found after forty days surrounded by a halo of miraculous light, a sure sign of sanctity. His mother, however, confirmed in her idea of his obsession, drove him from the house. He then openly confessed to the faith of Islam and eventually became a great Mohammedan *savant*.[1]

The same theory of divine instruction may be predicated of any spontaneous convert. A curious instance is reported from Syria by d'Arvieux of a young Venetian who in the seventeenth century ' turned Turk ' for the basest motives. He was so ill-instructed that he could only lift the finger,[2] thus attesting the unity of God, and say, ' La, la, Mehemed,' but this was accepted as proof that God had assuredly predestined him to be a Mussulman and had put the soul of a Turk into the body of a Christian for the express purpose of manifesting Himself by a miracle, inasmuch as without being instructed the convert had pronounced the name of the Prophet.[3]

Even after death a Christian dead in the Christian faith may be received into the true faith. Thus

' ils tiennent que parmy nous autres, qu'ils nomment Iaours, ou Infidelles, il y en a tousiours quelques-vns, à qui Dieu fait ceste grace d'ouurir & illuminer l'entendement, & les guider au vray

Niebuhr, *Voyage en Arabie*, ii, 246.

[2] Moslems *in extremis* hold up the first finger to profess their faith, that being the simplest way of indicating the central dogma of the Unity of God (Castries, *L'Islam*, p. 196). Lifting the finger is part of the ordinary prayer (Lane, *Mod. Egyptians*, i, 98).

[3] D'Arvieux, *Voyage dans la Palestine*, ed. de la Roque, pp. 48 ff.

chemin de salut.'[1] Conversely, 'entre eux il y a des meschans & reprouuez, qu'il laisse viure en tenebres, & suivre pour leur perdition, la loy des Chrestiens, & que Dieu ne voulāt permettre que les corps de ses esleus soiēt apres la mort, contaminez & honnis, par la compagnie des Infidelles & meschans, a ordonné septante deux mille chameaux, qui continuellement transportent les corps des Chrestiens qui meurent Musulmans, dans les sepultures des Turcs, & les Turcs qui entre eux meurent Chrestiens ou Infidelles, dans la sepulture des Chrestiens.'[2]

This again, like the theory of secret believers above, is warranted by a text of the Koran[3] which runs, 'O true believers, whoever of you apostatizeth from his religion, God will certainly bring other people to supply his place'. Illustrative of this is a story told to Gervais-Courtellemont at Mecca itself. An Indian king had come to Mecca, intending to assure his salvation by burial in the Maala cemetery there. To prove to him that such ideas were vain and superstitious, he was taken by night and shown the camels engaged in bringing there for burial the bodies of pious Moslems who had died elsewhere, in the place of reprobate Moslems who had been buried in the Maala. The same ghostly agency transferred their bodies to the former graves of the just.[4]

This tale is not only reminiscent of the Koran text but is also a rebuke to formalism,[5] implying that the holiest graveyard does not secure salvation and that judgement by externals may be wrong, since God alone knows the heart. In another story told to Gervais-Courtellemont at Mecca a romantic *motif* is introduced.

[1] De Brèves, *Voyages* (1628), p. 24. [2] *Ibid.*, pp. 24–5.
[3] Sale's ed., ch. v, p. 80. [4] *Voyage à la Mecque*, 1896, pp. 104-5.
[5] Dr. Zwemer suggests that Al Ghazali (*c.* 1100) started the idea in a different form, viz. that at the Resurrection bad Moslems would be excused Hell and their places taken by Jews and Christians. This is probably in the same cycle of thought, but it sounds to me like a fanatic's counterblast to the idea that it is better in the sight of God to be a good Christian than a bad Moslem.

The son of a Moorish Andalusian king, he was told, was enslaved and in the service of a Christian monarch as gardener, when he fell in love with his master's daughter. She begged him to change his religion and marry her. He refused, however, and eventually persuaded her to pronounce the sacred formula, 'There is no God but God and Mohammed is His Prophet.' The intrigue was discovered and the princess died. The captive prince, wishing in memory of his love to keep a bracelet he had given her and which had been buried with her, opened her tomb in order to take the bracelet. To his surprise he found in the tomb the body of an old Arab with a pearl chaplet, which, without knowing what he was doing, he took. On going later to Mecca, he was challenged by a Meccan to account for his possession of the chaplet, which the Meccan recognized as buried with his father at Mecca. The prince told his story and the old man's grave was opened to test it. In the grave was found the body of the princess, transferred, as a true believer, by the camels.[1]

This story, as may be any such told in Mecca, is evidently widely circulated. At Monastir I found an open *turbe*[2] which is said to mark a grave where a khoja was buried, but in which they afterwards discovered the body of a non-Mohammedan princess.[3] A similar tale of recent and historical transference and exchange was told to

[1] Gervais-Courtellemont, *op. cit.*, pp. 106 ff. There may be here omitted an incident of miraculous liberation, for which see below, pp. 663–7. The addition of the marvellous substitution of the body of a female for a male may be due to some legend of the Roman monument outside Algiers, which is known as the 'Grave [of the Roman or] of the Christian Woman' (Berbrugger, *Tombeau de la Chrétienne*), though I have not been able, so far, to find evidence in support of such a theory. The mention of Andalusia, however, points to a Maghrabi source: 'el Andalus' is used in the *Arabian Nights* for Spain.

[2] In a graveyard where the rain-prayer is made.

[3] F. W. H. See above, p. 360, n. 1. A rather dull variant is given by Pierotti, *Légendes Racontées*, pp. 64 ff.

Lady Duff Gordon in Egypt:[1] she herself was told that 'thou knowest that wherever thou art buried, thou wilt assuredly live in a Muslim grave'.[2] A vulgarized and attenuated version is given by Mills from Nablus. A Moslem dreamt that a certain prominent Christian, recently dead, had been transferred by four men to the Moslem cemetery.[3] The dream was considered sufficient proof of the miracle and the grave left undisturbed by any test of the dream: the original theme also is entirely lost sight of. The ambiguous sex of S. Spyridon at Corfu[4] *may* be a trace of the same story.

The reason of the application of the story to an open *turbe* is possibly that these are commonly built by women for the shelter and retreat of themselves and other women mourning their dead.[5] They are thus really not tombs at all, though sometimes dedicated formally to saints, especially Khidr. They may consequently be named from either the (male) saint to whom they are dedicated or the (female) dedicator.[6] This apparent ambiguity gives foothold to the popular miraculous story.

To return once more to renegade saints, it is clear that a genuine convert to Islam would be likely in his enthusiasm for his new faith to exhibit all the outward marks of saintly life, while, on the other hand, an impostor had everything to gain by punctiliousness in matters of religion.[7] Such punctiliousness would in its

[1] *Letters from Egypt*, p. 199. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 198.

[3] J. Mills, *Three Months*, p. 156.

[4] Lafont, *Trois Mois en Albanie*, p. 50. Note, however, that the Bektashi claim that S. Spyridon is really Sari Saltik and Sari may, by its likeness to Sara, suggest a female: see below, pp. 583–4.

[5] See above, p. 325, n. 4.

[6] The 'Khidrlik' *turbe* at Angora, for instance, is now thought of as the tomb of Bula Khatun (F. W. H.: above, p. 325).

[7] *Cf.* Hanauer, *Folk-Lore of the Holy Land*, pp. 147 ff., for a story of a Moslem who made his fortune by pretending to be a renegade. Probably, too, the assumption of the role of ascete or fool-saint would

turn confirm the already existing idea of the special sanctity of renegades and would come easily enough among a credulous people, the more so that continence is not essential to Moslem sainthood. In addition, the numerous class of renegades who 'turned Turk' for convenience and rose by their ability to enviable positions might affect fanatic zeal as a protection from their inevitable detractors. Such was the case of an Armenian renegade mentioned by d'Arvieux. Instigated by fear of jealous rivals, who threw doubts on the genuineness of his conversion, he proclaimed it by a signal act of piety, which took the form of seizing a Christian church and consecrating it as a mosque.[1] Similarly, the caliph El Hakim destroyed, it was alleged, the church of the Holy Sepulchre to prove his anti-Christian tendencies to those of his enemies who accused him of favouring the Christians because of his Christian mother.[2] Not a few renegades to Islam were of western origin.[3] Their European upbringing would, certainly in the late centuries, give them an intellectual superiority over the

in reasonably capable hands have proved an excellent speculation, and, having a popular basis, would be less open to calumny than a political career with its greater prizes and risks. The converse of the sanctity attaching to renegades from Christianity is the severity of the punishment meted out to renegades from Islam: examples are S. John, son of a dervish of Konitza and martyred at Vrachori, the sheikh of Akhisar, who turned with twelve of his followers, and the Shazeli dervishes of Syria who renegaded about 1870: for all of these see below, pp. 452–9.

[1] D'Arvieux, *Mémoires*, ii, 373.

[2] Williams, *The Holy City*, i, 346 ff.: *cf.* Corroyer, *L'Arch. Rom.*, p. 205. His mysterious death was attributed to this act of sacrilege, as also his reputed withdrawal to a Christian convent, for which see Artin Pasha, *Contes du Nil*, pp. 19-20. For him see Fabri also (*Evagat.* ii, 247), who says it was his son who allowed the Sepulchre church to be rebuilt.

[3] An excellent example is Manzur Efendi, a renegade Frenchman who became Ali Pasha of Yannina's chief gunner and wrote an interesting book of *Mémoires* of the Pasha: see the bibliography, *s. v.*

masses, which could be effectively exploited for purposes of charlatanry.

A most remarkable example of this comes from North Africa. A celebrated *marabut*, who had formerly been a blacksmith, died at Kairuan in 1856, leaving behind him a number of prophecies engraved on sword-blades, which in times of stress were consulted like oracles. In 1881 the French were about to march on Kairuan and so caused there the greatest consternation,[1] whereupon the *imam* in charge of the prophetic swords proposed to consult them. This was done : the oracle left no doubt that the city must be surrendered without resistance, and the white flag was at once hoisted. The curious part is that the *imam* in question was a French renegade, born at Elbœuf, who had ' séjourné à la Trappe, à la Chartreuse, et à Frigolet ' before embracing Islam. He had himself forged the sword-blade consulted, but no one questioned his authority, for ' très instruit, orateur, parlant bien l'arabe, habitué aux jeûnes et à l'abstinence, Si Ahmed . . . acquit par ses prédications enflammées dans les cafés de Tunis et les mosquées de Kairouan, une grande réputation de sainteté.' He died a Moslem in 1885 at Kairuan.[2]

[1] Kairuan is of course a very holy city.

[2] Poiré, *Tunisie Française*, pp. 200 ff. : the quotations in the text are from Plauchut's account in the *Rev. Deux Mondes*, 15 Oct. 1890, p. 832. Si Ahmed was the son of M. Lefebvre Duruflé, a senator under the Empire (Poiré, *op. cit.*, p. 205) : the sword is still shown at Kairuan (*ibid.*). The part played by Si Ahmed is perfectly in harmony with the traditions of *défaitistes marabouts*, for which see Montet, *Culte des Saints Musulmans*, p. 33.

XXXV

NEO-MARTYRS OF THE ORTHODOX CHURCH

THE passions of the Greek neo-martyrs are of considerable interest both for the study of hagiology in general and as affording curious sidelights on the history of the Greek Church under the Turkish yoke. A *Lexicon of all the Saints*, published at Athens in 1904,[1] enumerates over forty saints who suffered death for their faith chiefly in the seventeenth, eighteenth, and early nineteenth centuries: this list could probably be considerably lengthened by the inclusion of martyrs who perished during and after the Greek Revolution.[2] Whether on account of the growing fanaticism of the Turks or merely the insufficiency of early documents, only a small minority of the recorded martyrdoms occurred before the latter half of the seventeenth century.[3]

[1] *Λεξικὸν τῶν Ἁγίων πάντων τῆς Ὀρθοδόξου Ἐκκλησίας* by *Β.Δ. Ζωτὸς Μολοττός*, Athens, 1904. The other main sources for the lives of Greek neo-saints are the Patriarchal list (*ap.* Sathas, *Μεσ. Βιβλ.* iii, 605 ff.) from 1492 to 1811, the *Νέον Μαρτυρολόγιον* giving a list from 1492 onwards (the Athens edition of 1856 adds S. George of Yannina dated 1830), and the *Νέον Λειμωνάριον*.

[2] Martyrs unmentioned in these lists are the Anonymous of Tenos recorded by de la Magdeleine, *Miroir Ottoman*, p. 67, as martyred about 1670, and perhaps the Athanasius mentioned by Wilson, *Narrative of the Greek Mission*, p. 402, a martyr of 1819. A martyr may also be forgotten. Wheler saw the *λείψανον* of S. Philothea (*Ὁσία*) at Athens, but she is not now known, according to Kambouroglous, *Ἱστορία*, i, 173 ff., iii, 189: see her life in *N. Λειμων.* pp. 43 ff.

[3] The Patriarchal list (*ap.* Sathas) gives the martyrs' names, birthplaces, and dates, occasionally their place of martyrdom. According to this list there was one martyr in the fifteenth century, with 15 in the sixteenth, 31 in the seventeenth, 39 in the eighteenth, and 7 in the nineteenth (up to 1811).

As to the personalities of the martyrs included in the *Lexicon*, it is noteworthy that nearly all are men in a humble station of life, many of them not renowned for their virtues. On this point the Passions are extraordinarily candid. A good instance is the case of the three (anonymous) martyrs of Agrinion, who masqueraded as Turkish tax-collectors and, wearing Turkish dress and using the exclusively Mohammedan salutation *Selam Aleïkum* for the purpose, were on this account haled before the Kadi and offered the choice of apostasy or death.[1] To choose the latter rather than the former is regarded, and rightly, as the supreme test ; by it the sins of a lifetime were regarded as honourably erased.

The supernatural details added to the recitals are, in comparison with those in earlier saints' lives, Greek and Latin alike, insignificant.

As a general rule the neo-martyrs seem to have been men who ' turned Turk ' for various motives, often in extreme youth,[2] or were alleged by the Turks to have done so.[3] After a shorter or longer period they repented and publicly avowed themselves Christians.[4] The Turkish law was explicit and their doom, if they persisted, was certain. In one or two cases the convert was a Turk by birth : [5] one certainly was not an orthodox Moslem,

[1] *Λεξικόν*, p. 704 (three anonymous martyrs of Agrinion in 1786) : *cf. N. Λειμων.*, pp. 491 ff. *Cf. Νέον Μαρτ.*, p. 55 (Loukas, tailor in Mytilene, martyred in 1564).

[2] *Cf.* Michaud and Poujoulat, *Corresp. d'Orient*, i, 221, for a Greek martyred about 1830 for blaspheming the Islam he had embraced in youth.

[3] *Cf.* the extraordinary case of a Greek of Alashehr (Philadelphia) who, perverted in childhood, repented at twenty-five and was visited by a number of Turkish sorcerers who attempted to draw him back to the true faith (*Νέον Μαρτ.*, p. 74) by their magic arts.

[4] A case is that of Damaskenos who renegaded in youth, repented, became a monk, and in 1681 a voluntary martyr (*Νέον Μαρτ.*, p. 96).

[5] About 1540 a *mufti* turned Christian with his son and pupils : all were burned (Gerlach, *Tage-Buch*, p. 58). A Turk preaching Chris-

but deeply imbued with the mystic teaching of the dervishes.[1] A case is recorded in which a Turk was converted by his Christian wife.[2] A few martyrs only were actuated by the passion for martyrdom,[3] such as was evidenced by S. Ignatius and some early martyrs,[4] and of their own free will blasphemed Islam and its Prophet[5] before the Kadi. This morbid state of mind was to some extent shared by renegades : it was doubtless an effect of their remorse. It is greatly to the credit of the Turks that at least one case is recorded where a renegade monk, stimulated doubtless by a similar morbid craving, went before the Kadi and blasphemed, not Mohammed but Christ, and *was at once beheaded.*[6]

The ex-renegades, who form the bulk of the martyrs, were converted to Islam in various ways.[7] Many were

tianity and therefore martyred is mentioned by Hauser in his notes on Canaye's *Voyage* (1573), p. 146. Two dervishes were baptized and martyred in Rhodes in 1622, miraculous lights being seen on their tombs (Pacifique, *Voyage de Perse*, p. 54). A dervish of Akhisar (Thyatira) was converted to Christianity with twenty-two of his followers and martyred in 1649 (Carayon, *Rel. Inéd. de la Compagnie de Jésus*, pp. 228 ff.). Other cases are mentioned by the *Νέον Μαρτ.*, p. 33 (Saint Jacob of Kastoria), and the *N. Λειμων.*, p. 217 (' dervish ' Alexander).

[1] S. John of Konitza (*N. Λειμων.*, p. 331), who was a Bektashi sheikh's son.

[2] *Λεξικόν*, p. 288 (Ahmed, martyred 1682), also in *Νέον Μαρτ.*, p. 99.

[3] *Λεξικόν*, p. 181 (Anastasios of S. Vlasios, 1743), p. 552. *Cf. Νέον Μαρτ.*, p. 39 (S. John of Yannina, 1526), p. 86 (Gabriel of Aloni, 1676), p. 87 (Kyprianos, 1679), p. 104 (Romanos of Constantinople).

[4] Delehaye, *Culte des Martyrs*, p. 7 : *cf.* Allard, *Dern. Perséc.*, p. 141 ; Le Blant, *Perséc. et Martyrs*, pp. 99 ff., especially 103 ff. and 134. For the merit of voluntary martyrdom see Eulogius, *Lib. Memor. Sanct.* i, §§ 22, 24. See also Castries, *L'Islam*, pp. 90 ff.

[5] *Νέον Μαρτ.*, pp. 47, 54, 55, 63, 68 (SS. M. Mavroudis, Dem. Tornaras, Joannes Koulikas, Nicolas of Trikkala, Jordanis of Trebizond).

[6] Hammer-Hellert, *Hist. Emp. Ott.* xii, 45 : for the psychology of the renegade see Allard, *Hist. des Perséc.*, p. 306.

[7] De Maillet (*Descr. de l'Égypte*, ii, 207) records a curious case of the apostasy and martyrdom of a Franciscan.

circumcised by force while young,[1] many in their cups made the Profession of Faith [2] and were held to it when sober by their Turkish boon-companions. The motives of the Turks in pressing a conversion of this sort are not generally represented as malicious, and might, indeed, have been the result of a genuine or fuddled attachment.[3] Occasionally their motives were political [4] and sometimes a Greek was merely slandered by a rival.[5] There are a few cases where the apostasy was more or less forced on the Christian, either by a love affair with a Moslem woman [6] or by malicious interpretation of phrases lightly said.[7]

A renegade convinced of his error generally made his way to Athos [8] or some other monastic centre away from the world,[9] confessed, and was put to penance by his

[1] *Νέον Μαρτ.*, p. 65 (Theophilus), p. 67 (Markos of Smyrna), p. 71 (Nicolas of Karaman).

[2] Anastasios was circumcised when mad because of the magic practised against him by his deserted fiancée's family (*Νέον Μαρτ.*, p. 71) : *cf. ibid.*, p. 80, for Joannes Navkleros of Kos, p. 81 for Nicolas the general merchant, p. 99 for Paul the Russian.

[3] So our own countryman, Thomas Dallam, the organist, who brought Queen Elizabeth's present to the sultan, was entreated to stay in the Seraglio and turn Turk for no more interested reason than the pleasure the Imperial pages took in his company and his skill : see his *Travels*, p. 73 (' towe jemaglanes, who is keepers of that house, touke me in theire armes and kissed me, and used many perswations to have me staye with the Grand Sinyor and sarve him ').

[4] *Νέον Μαρτ.*, pp. 63, 73, 79, 81, 101.

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 77 : *cf.* pp. 54, 55, 65, 67, 70, 92, 93, 102. *Cf.* especially Cosmas of Berat slandered by Jews (Wheler, *Journey into Greece*, p. 124).

[6] *Λεξικόν*, pp. 392 (Demetrius of Chios, 1802 : *cf. N. Λειμων.*, p. 18) and 543–4 (John the Bulgarian, 1802 : *cf. N. Λειμων.*, p. 88).

[7] *Cf.* Nicolas the general merchant, in *Νέον Μαρτ.*, p. 81.

[8] *Cf.* Leake, *North. Greece*, iii, 137 ; Hartley, *Researches* (1831), p. 57. There is a special service for repentant renegades (*cf.* Jowett, *Christian Researches*, pp. 20–22 : *cf.* Castries, *L'Islam*, pp. 323 ff. and Rycaut, *Greek and Armenian Churches*, p. 287).

[9] Patmos in *Λεξικόν*, p. 360 (George of New Ephesus, 1801) : *cf. N. Λειμων.*, pp. 113 ff.

confessor.[1] It was generally held that the guilt of apostasy could be purged only by martyrdom, so that a permanent refuge in a monastery was impossible. The penitent, fortified by prayer and fasting, then returned to the place where he had renounced Christianity, and, throwing down his turban before a Turkish court, declared that he returned to his original faith. The judge generally used every means in his power to persuade the new convert to return to Islam, and allowed him several days to reconsider his decision.[2] At the end of this grace the saint was beheaded or hanged in public. The fortitude of some such victims excited the admiration not only of their co-religionists but of their Catholic contemporaries: nor, as we shall see, were the Turks altogether unmoved.

While the body was still exposed, or even while the prisoner was still in jail, signs of his sainthood were eagerly looked for. The most generally accepted token was a phosphorescent light (an idea doubtless derived from the tongues of fire at Pentecost) hovering over the prisoner, the corpse, or the grave. Another was the failure of the body to decompose by the time prescribed by Greek custom for the gathering up of the bones (*ἀνακομιδή*).[3] The validity of these signs depended on the presumption that the deceased had died a martyr. Both Turks and Greeks consider that if a body does not decompose before the prescribed time, it is either that of a great saint or a great sinner. Consequently, when the phosphorescent light was seen by the Turkish authori-

[1] Rycaut (*Greek and Armenian Churches*, pp. 285 ff.) says the treatment varied for repentant renegades according to age. Under fourteen they were given only bread and water for forty days and made to pray day and night. If over fourteen, they had numerous fasts and continual prayer to observe, and for six or seven years were not allowed to communicate.

[2] *Cf. Νέον Μαρτ.*, p. 74 (Demetrios of Alashehr).

[3] *Λεξικόν*, p. 250 (S. Argyrios, 1725): Wheler, *Journey into Greece*, p. 123 (Gerasimos of Crete): *Νέον Μαρτ.*, pp. 33, 81, 93, 107.

ties round the body of a martyr, they held that 'God was burning him'; but were quite consistently prepared to acknowledge his innocence, if it were found that this light had not consumed the body.[1] In this case the saint was recognized by Turks as divinely vindicated, and in some cases is reported to have performed posthumous miracles for Turks.[2]

The miracles performed by the neo-martyrs are of the usual sort attributed to the other saints in the Greek calendar. The missionary Hartley, 'walking over the ruins of Tripolitza, in the year 1828, happened to inquire . . . whether the plague was of frequent occurrence in that place. The answer implied that the plague had never visited the town since the martyrdom of a certain individual of the class just described' (*i.e.* a neo-martyr).[3] Particularly interesting is the case of one George, a neo-martyr of Scala Nova, who appeared to a sick Carpathiote who in classical fashion 'incubated' at the tomb of the saint. The saint appeared to the patient in his sleep under the form of S. Panteleëmon (a popular Orthodox healing saint) and, with a staff he carried, touched the ailing part, the patient being of course healed.[4] A closer parallel to the ancient 'incubation' at Epidaurus could hardly be desired.

The canonization of saints of this type seems to have depended mainly on the popular voice. If it was generally admitted that the choice between apostasy and death had been offered to the person executed, especially if his sanctity had been borne out by the tokens

[1] *Λεξικόν*, p. 560 (John of Sphakia, 1811: *cf. N. Λειμων.*, p. 328). A similar proof was the refusal of the street dogs to touch the corpse of the saint in *Νέον. Μαρτ.*, p. 107 (Athanasius of Adalia, 1700).

[2] *Λεξικόν*, p. 368 (George of Grevena, 1810). It was the policy of the Turks in 1830 to make Christians renegade.

[3] *Researches*, p. 58.

[4] *Λεξικόν*, p. 362 (George of Scala Nova = New Ephesus, 1801: also in *N. Λειμων.*, p. 113).

we have described or by posthumous healing miracles, his popular canonization was secure.

'A person, of whose veracity I have no doubt, informed me', says Hartley, 'that he saw a Greek at Tzesme, named Gabriel Sandalges, hanged by the Turks. His countrymen, from a cause which I cannot recal, believed that he died a martyr. In consequence, a painter was employed to sketch his features, while he was still hanging; and the portrait was forthwith suspended in the church, and worship paid him under the name of Stratolates.' [1]

In other cases the canonization of the saint was ordered by the local bishop. An instance of this is recorded by Hartley, as follows:

'A Spezziot, who had commanded a brig of war during the Revolution, gave me the following fact. Two young Spezziotes, who had been the juvenile companions of my informant from the days of childhood, had the misfortune to be shipwrecked on the Island of Scio. Having fled for refuge to a Greek of the island, he had the baseness to betray them.

'On being brought before the Turkish Pasha, he offered them the alternative of embracing the Mussulman religion, or of death. The young men manifested that fortitude in the cause of their faith which has been so often witnessed in the Turkish Empire. They professed their readiness to submit to the worst extremities, rather than abjure their religion. The menace of the Pasha was executed, and they died the death of martyrdom. . . . The Bishop of Scio addressed a Letter to the Spezziotes, informing them, not only of the martyrdom of their two countrymen, but also of the observation of the luminous appearance, which is the indication of Saintship. On the strength of this occurrence, he exhorted them to place the pictures of the two young men in their church, and to address to them a course of worship (*ἀκολουθία*). The admonition of the Bishop was duly attended to: and, as my informant asserted, their pictures are now receiving this worship: though his own recollection of these young men led him to suppose that it was altogether misdirected.' [2]

[1] *Researches*, p. 55.

[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 55–56.

In conclusion, as illustrating the essentially popular nature of such saint-cults, we may cite the case of an eighteenth-century ascetic of Katirli in Bithynia, Auxentios. He gained an immense following, and, it is said, also immense wealth, by his reputation for sanctity and miracle-working. He seems to have been a disreputable character and to have owed his success partly to the backing of a deposed patriarch of Constantinople and partly to his influence over women. The reigning prelate, having tried in vain by means of his emissaries to put an end to Auxentios' vogue, at last called for Turkish intervention. The impostor was inveigled into a boat, strangled, and thrown into the Sea of Marmara. The inhabitants interred his body in their church, and down to the sixties, in spite of all ecclesiastical protests, reverenced it as a miracle-working relic.[1]

[1] Kleonymos and Papadopoulos, *Βιθυνικά*, pp. 95 f.; Sir James Porter, *Turkey*, i, 359 f.; Gedeon, in *Νεολόγος*, Sept. 1887, no. 5481; Dapontes, *Ἱστ. Κατάλογος*, p. 129 (in Sathas, *Μεσ. Βιβλ.* iii), 1751–2, and *Καθρέπτης Γυναικῶν*; Koumas, *Ἱστ. Ἀνθρ. Πράξεων*, x, 398 ff.; *Vie de saint Auxence*, ed. Léon Clugnet; *Le Mont Saint-Auxence*, by R. P. Jules Pargoire; *Νέον Μαρτ.*, p. 108.

XXXVI

STAG AND SAINT [1]

BOTH in Islam and in Christianity tales are told connecting stags with saints. On the Moslem side is the story that Kaigusuz Baba, while still in the world, went hunting and, having shot a stag, was amazed to see it turn into a venerable dervish. In remorse, he forthwith left the world for the cloister.[2] Another saint was converted by Haji Bektash, who showed him on his own person the wounds which the future saint had inflicted on a stag.[3] Haji Bektash was the spiritual disciple of Kara (otherwise Karaja Ahmed) : [4] *Karaja* bears the meaning of *stag*.

These stories are founded on the belief that deer are the familiars of forest-dwelling hermits, who, by their sympathy with the natural world, can milk and ride on them,[5] that is, use wild animals as domestic : more extravagant stories attribute to desert hermits the same power with regard to lions.[6] A possible contributory cause of the generation of such myths is the use of deer-

[1] This chapter has been written up by M. M. H.

[2] See above, pp. 290–1. A degradation of this story may perhaps be discerned in the succouring of the Chelebi's son at Konia by S. Chariton (see above pp. 373–4 f.), where the saint may have been originally the stag which led to the mishap and subsequent miracle.

[3] F. W. H. [4] Evliya, *Travels*, ii, 21 : *cf.* ii, 215.

[5] Geyikli Baba rode on a stag to the siege of Brusa (Evliya, *Travels*, ii, 24) ; the Khalveti great-grandfather of Halil Khalid rode every Friday to Mecca on a stag (Halil Halid, *Diary of a Turk*, p. 5). The same Geyikli Baba tamed deer and lived on their milk (Carnoy and Nicolaides, *Trad. de Constantinople*, p. 10 : *cf.* above, p. 290) ; his name means literally *Stag Dervish*.

[6] *e.g.* Ahmed Rifai (Degrand, *Haute Albanie*, p. 229). The same tale is told of Haji Bektash in Cholet, *Voyage*, p. 47, and also of Mohammed (by Cappadocian Greeks) : see above, p. 289, and 2.

skins as prayer-mats,[1] which are looked upon as the vehicles of miraculous journeys,[2] in the ecstasy of contemplation, to Mecca and elsewhere. Such probably is the origin of the belief that the deer-skin preserved in the family of Halil Khalid belonged to the stag which carried Halil's dervish ancestor regularly to Mecca for the Friday prayer.[3]

In general, stags are holy animals and it is unlucky to shoot them.[4] In Pontus they built the enclosure of a saint's grave.[5] They are said to offer themselves for the *kurban* sacrifice, when other animals fail;[6] on this account their horns are often hung in *tekkes*.[7] Dervishes can, and do, take the form of stags.[8] Finally, another source of legends of conversion by stags is the fact that stag-hunting is the typical employment of rich and worldly young men.[9]

On the Christian side, in the East, S. Mamas of Cappadocia, who was martyred under Aurelian, milked deer[10] and is said in Cyprus to have ridden on a lion.[11] Even in western Europe similar miracles occur.[12] Thus

[1] Van Lennep (*Travels*, ii, 46) says the most appreciated prayer-mats are the skins of the stag, the roebuck, and the wild goat.

[2] For miraculous journeys in general see above, pp. 285–7.

[3] Halil Halid, *loc. cit.*

[4] Carnoy and Nicolaides, *Trad. de Constantinople*, p. 10.

[5] Professor White in *Mosl. World*, ix, 11.

[6] F. W. H. The miracle is a very old one (*cf.* Plutarch, *Lucullus*, p. 10) and is found also on the Christian side (a stag offered itself for slaughter to S. Simeon the hermit, celebrated on July 26).

[7] See above, p. 231, and n. 7.

[8] *Cf.* above, p. 460 (Kaigusuz Baba, Haji Bektash).

[9] See above, p. 460 (Kaigusuz Baba), and below, p. 465 (S. Eustace, S. Hubert of Liége).

[10] *Synax. Cp.*, Sept. 2; Greg. Naz., *Or.* xliv, cap. xii; Basilius, *In Mamantem*: Allard, *Dern. Perséc.*, p. 259, where, however, his date is given as July 17.

[11] M. Ohnefalsch-Richter, *Gr. Sitten und Gebräuche auf Cypern*, p. 162. A similarly extravagant story deals with Ephraim Angaua, for whom see above, p. 289, n. 2.

[12] See Maury, *Croy. du Moyen Âge*, pp. 256 ff.

S. Telo of Brittany [1] rode on a stag, while S. Maximus of Turin,[2] being spied upon, sent a miraculous thirst on the spy and afterwards relieved it by introducing him to a deer which gave him milk. S. Gilles of Provence [3] used to milk a deer and was accidentally wounded in mistake for it by a royal hunting party. On the festival of S. Rieul deer came from the forest, entered the church, and remained on the tomb of the saint during mass.[4] The English S. Guthlac sheltered a stag from its pursuers.[5]

Conversion by a supernatural stag occurs in the legend of S. Eustace, supposed to have been martyred under Hadrian.[6] This tale is as follows :

A Roman officer, named Placidus, was hunting near Rome. His hounds brought to bay a stag with a crucifix between its horns,[7] which cried out, ' Why pursuest

[1] Maury, *op. cit.*, p. 259. [2] *Acta SS.*, June 25.

[3] *Ibid.*, Sept. 1. This sixth-century saint (otherwise Aegidius) is said to have come from Greece.

[4] Collin de Plancy, *Dict. des Reliques*, i, 28.

[5] Hutton, *English Saints*, p. 225. In general, he had power over wild things. A gazelle, hunted by the sickly son of the Sultan Sanjar, took refuge in the mud house built over the tomb of the Imam Riza near the city of Tus. The prince's horse shied away from the tomb, whereupon the prince surmised he was on holy ground, dismounted, and, praying at the tomb, was at once miraculously healed (D. M. Donaldson in *Mosl. World*, ix, 1919, pp. 293–4). This story combines the themes of the hunted animal which takes sanctuary (*e.g.* S. Guthlac's stag : the stag in Sébillot, *Folk-Lore de France*, i, 169 : the wild sow in Greg. Turon., *Vitae Patrum*, xii, ch. ii) and of the plague-smitten prince guided by an animal to cure (*e.g.* Bladud at Bath, Philoktetes &c.), for which see further below, p. 686.

[6] *Acta SS.*, Sept. 20. The legend is certainly prior to the schism between the Churches, as it occurs in *Synax. Cp.* also. S. Bracchion's conversion was very similar (Maury, *op. cit.*, p. 257).

[7] In the Greek life, which is the source of all known lives and probably dates before Metaphrastes (tenth century), the text runs : '*ἐπὶ μὲν τῶν κεράτων τοῦ ἐλάφου τὸν τύπον τοῦ τιμίου σταυροῦ ὑπὲρ τὴν λαμπρότητα τοῦ ἡλίου λάμποντα, μέσον δὲ τῶν κεράτων τὴν εἰκόνα τοῦ θεοφόρου σώματος*.'

The antithesis indicated is to be noted. The earliest mention of S.

thou me? I am Jesus Christ.'[1] Here, the main theme is sudden conversion effected by a miraculous beast.

After his conversion Placidus took the name of Eustathius, endured a number of Job-like trials,[2] and was eventually martyred, showing great fortitude in his death (*Εὐστάθιος*).

The two halves of the story are quite distinct and

Eustace is by S. John Damascenus, who lived all his life in Syria and Palestine and died before 754. It is therefore possible that the legend is of Syrian origin, in which case it is interesting to find that an Arabic expression speaks of the sun's rays as the *horns of a deer* (H. B. Tristram, *Eastern Customs*, p. 172). *Cf.* 'horns' for 'rays' in Hebrew (*e.g.* in *Exodus*, xxxiv, 29, where the Authorized Version reads 'Moses put forth horns', and *Habakkuk*, iii, 4). Is the introduction of the stag into the Eustace story caused or helped by a misunderstanding by the Greek translator of this metaphor or of a gloss which has crept into the text? The *eikons* ignore the difficulty raised by the position of the crucifix and merely place it on the stag's head between its horns. Maury, however, ingeniously explains (*Croy. du Moyen Âge*, p. 260) the introduction of the stag by a confusion between it and the unicorn and the ancient symbolical reference of the stag to Ps. xli, 1. This may have been contributory, but in the East the stag *is* a holy man; Eustathius' stag *is* Christ, and the stag wounded by Kaigusuz (above, p. 460) assumed the form of a venerable dervish. The *Acta* do not help much towards a solution, being late: they make the stag itself speak, not the crucifix. The second early mention of S. Eustace is by the patriarch Nicephorus, who lived in the early ninth century. Both he and S. John Damascenus were of the pro-image party, so that if the story originated in Syria, as suggested, we may owe it to the desire of the pro-image party to stimulate image worship. Miracles probably produced for some such reason are the statue of the Virgin at Damascus, half of which came alive and talked (Baronius, *s. a.* 870, quoted by Collin de Plancy, *Dict. des Reliques*, ii, 332) and the bleeding crucifix of Beyrut, which is mentioned by Theodericus (*c.* 1172: ed. Tobler, p. 109) and by the German pilgrim of 1507 quoted by Röhricht, in *Z.D.P.V.* x, 202. See further Hasluck, *Letters*, p. 199, and for bleeding hosts and crucifixes in general see Maury, *op. cit.*, p. 287.

[1] The wording is evidently influenced by the conversion of S. Paul (*Acts*, ix, 4, 5). Balaam's ass is the prototype for the beast with human voice.

[2] De Voragine, *Legenda Aurea*, p. 525: *cf.* P. Guérin, *Vie des Saints*, *s. v.*

may possibly even belong to two different persons.[1] The confusion may perhaps be explained by supposing Placidus to be a translation of *Ἡσύχιος*, and *Ἡσύχιος* to be a bad reading of *Εὐστόχιος* appropriate for the huntsman *motif* as *Εὐστάθιος* is for trials and martyrdom. It is noteworthy that the West uses the bastard form *Eustathius*. It is highly probable that the whole story belongs to the class of edifying, as opposed to historical, legends, of which the type is Barlaam and Joasaph:[2] to this class belong also S. Christopher[3] and the similarly unlocalized S. Julian,[4] whose story, be it noted, combines the *motifs* of the supernatural stag and the ferrying of Christ in disguise, analogous to the Christopher story. The heroes of these edifying tales seem to have no very definite cult centre or place of burial: perhaps that is characteristic. The transformation of Christ into animal form is unknown to me in the Christian cycle,[5] though the Devil favours such disguises. The pagan gods of antiquity and Hinduism, Buddha, and, as we have seen, Moslem saints, have no such scruples. In the case of S. Eustace the difficulty is partly evaded by the introduction of the crucifix.[6]

Deriving directly from the first Eustathius story, perhaps because the relics of S. Eustace are mainly in Belgium, we have the legend of the Belgian S. Hubert,[7]

[1] The authenticity of the details of the life of S. Eustace is doubted by most authorities. There is an historical Placidus (Josephus, *De Bell. Jud.* iv, 6). [2] Hastings' *Encycl. of Religion*, *s.v.* [3] May 9.

[4] *Acta SS.*, Feb. 12. The *Legenda Aurea* seems the first source known. See further Hasluck, *Letters*, p. 167.

[5] *Cf.*, however, two very popular French stories in which Christ and the Virgin respectively take the form of butterflies (Sébillot, *Folk-Lore de France*, iii, 333).

[6] Barlaam and Joasaph is known to be of Buddhist origin. There is some reason to believe that the prototype of all stag stories is Buddhist: see *Jatakas*, tr. Cowell.

[7] *Acta SS.*, Nov. 3: martyred in 727. See further Maury, *op. cit.*, p. 258.

who is converted, not from paganism, but from indifference. The story [1] varies only in the fact that he was hunting on a feast-day of the Church. This variation has no doubt been introduced in order to make the story more moral, S. Hubert as a Christian needing no conversion from paganism. This idea of hunting as the typical worldly pursuit, found also on the Moslem side,[2] is much used in popular mythology [3] and corresponds to dancing in women. Many great lords and even kings, including King Arthur,[4] have been punished for neglecting church for its sake, and have been condemned to hunt eternally in woods or in the sky.

[1] S. Jean de Matha, died 1213 (*Acta SS.*, Feb. 8), and S. Felix of Valois, died 1212 (*Acta SS.*, Nov. 20), founders of the Trinitarian order, were given an omen of their future foundation by the apparition of a stag bearing a red and blue cross between its horns. This is an aetiological tale composed to account miraculously for the badge of the order and explain the name of the first monastery, Cerfroid, near Meaux. For similarly aetiological reasons the Trinitarian convent at Murviedro in Spain, which was founded in 1266, is said to be on the site of an ancient temple of Diana (Bradshaw's *Spain*, p. 85). Hare (*Walks in Rome*, ii, 200) gives a compact account of the legends of SS. Hubert, Felix, Eustace, and Julian.

[2] *Cf.* Kaigusuz Baba, above, p. 460.

[3] For France see Sébillot, *op. cit.* i, 168, 169, 278 : *cf.* also iv, 13, 292. The typical *bourgeois* faults corresponding are, for men, cutting wood or hedging (Greg. Turon., *De Mirac. S. Mart.* III, xxix) ; for women, washing linen (Sébillot, *op. cit.* ii, 425, 426, 427), or dancing (Sébillot, iv, 26, 42) or baking (Greg. Turon., *loc. cit.* III, xxxi) on Sundays or holy days. For dancing see also Lecoy de la Marche, *La Chaire Française*, p. 447.

[4] Sébillot, *op. cit.* i, 168.

XXXVII

THE SAINTS OF ARMUDLU

THE hot springs of Armudlu, in the valley above the village of the same name on Bos Burun (Cape Poseidium) opposite Mudania, are dedicated, according to the Greeks, to three saints, Nymphodora, Metrodora, and Menodora.[1] The conjunction of three female saints is rare in the Greek calendar, and the names suspicious,[2] but the Christian cult is early. The saints were, according to tradition, put to death in the reign of Maximian at Nicomedia. As early as the tenth century their martyrdom is celebrated by Symeon Metaphrastes:[3] at this date their tomb was shown 'near the hot springs' and they were already considered notable miracle-workers.[4] They had a church at Constantinople already ancient in 1341,[5] and their relics are still preserved at the monastery of Lavra on Athos.[6] At the springs of Armudlu are shown the *ayasma* of the saints (in the bath-chamber built for the accommodation of visitors

[1] *Acta SS.* and *Synax. CP.*, Sept. 10; *cf. Bibl. Hag. Gr.*, p. 177.

[2] *Cf.* the equally unconvincing Cappadocian triad Speusippus, Elasippus, and Mesippus (Rendel Harris, *Dioscuri*, pp. 52 ff.). Are they the 'three children' who lie at Langres in a tomb of bronze with a Latin inscription saying they were sent by the king of Persia to rid the town of demons (Collin de Plancy, *Dict. des Reliques*, i, 20)?

[3] Migne, *Patr. Gr.* cxv, 653 ff.

[4] *Cf.* Sym. Met., p. 664: *τάφον αὐτοῖς ἐν τῷ τῆς τελειώσεως ἔχωσαν τόπῳ . . . τέμενός τε εἰς δεῦρο πρὸ τῷ τάφῳ αὐτῶν ἱερὸν ἵδρυται οἱονεί τινα ποταμόν, ἔνδον προχέοντα θαύματα*; *Synax. loc. cit.*: *θάπτονται πλησίον τῶν θερμῶν ὑδάτων, πολλὰς ἰάσεις ἕως τῆς σήμερον ἐπιτελοῦσαι.*

[5] *Acta Patr.*, § xcviii, in Miklosich and Müller, *Acta et Diplom. Gr.* i, 221.

[6] Smyrnakes, *Ἅγιον Ὄρος*, p. 394: the art type of the three saints is given in the *Ἑρμηνεία Ζωγράφων* (in Didron, *Iconographie Chrétienne*, p. 380).

to the springs) and the place of their burial a few paces further down the valley, where there are amorphous rubble ruins of Roman or Byzantine date. The earth of the grave is used medicinally.[1]

A female triad, though rare in the Byzantine calendar,[2] is common enough in ancient mythology, where the figures are called Eumenides, Graces, Nymphs, &c. The nymphs of springs commonly appear in art as a triad,[3] and they are naturally connected with hot springs and their healing properties.[4]

At least one ancient inscription has been found at the Armudlu baths, which is (slight) evidence of their frequentation in ancient times : but this is on the face of it probable. Further, a local writer of the sixties professes to have seen in the bath itself a ' picture in relief (*ἀναγεγλυμμένη εἰκών*) of the three saints '.[5] In 1913 I could find no trace of such a relief, but the bath was too full at the time of my visit for a satisfactory examination : local people spoke vaguely of ' figures ' (which they did not connect with the saints) visible before the bath was repaired with cement. The use of a pagan relief as a Christian *eikon* is not unprecedented ; numerous instances of reliefs of the ' Thracian horseman ' are cited by Dumont as serving in Thrace for *eikons* of S. George.[6] There is therefore a strong presumption that the cult of the three saints of Armudlu is based on an earlier worship of the nymphs.

[1] P. G. Makris, *Τὰ Κατιρλί*, p. 38 : *οἱ πιστοὶ λαμβάνουσι γῆν πρὸς θεραπείαν πασῶν τῶν ἀσθενειῶν*.

[2] Above, p. 466.

[3] See especially Imhoof-Blumer in *Journ. Int. Num.* 1908, pp. 181 ff.

[4] *Cf.*, *e.g.*, Cumont, *Stud. Pont.* ii, 124, iii, 37 ff., on the nymphs at Kafsa near Amasia.

[5] Kleonymos, *Βιθυνικὰ* (1867), p. 96 ; *cf.* P. G. Makris, *Τὸ Κατιρλὶ* (1888), p. 38, who speaks simply of an *εἰκών*.

[6] *Mélanges d'Archéologie et d'Épigraphie*, p. 219. A horseman relief is worshipped as an *eikon* of S. Demetrius at the village church of Luzani in Lower Macedonia, see above, p. 190.

The village of Armudlu contains a fairly equal mixture of Turks and Greeks, and the bath is naturally frequented by both. Beside it are two Moslem graves, one of which is known to be that of a patient who died at the baths. Only lapse of time and suitable exploitation are needed to bring these into relation with the hot springs: and the unknown *dedes* will under favourable circumstances succeed to the heritage of the nymphs and the saints.

XXXVIII

THE CRYPTO-CHRISTIANS OF TREBIZOND[1]

THOUGH the number of crypto-Christians among the heterodox tribes of Asia Minor has probably been considerably exaggerated, it cannot be denied that crypto-Christians exist or that cases of forced conversion affecting large sections of the population can be cited.[2] But under the Ottoman Turks at least there is very little historical evidence for conversion on a large scale in Asia Minor. So long as the *rayahs* were not dangerous, they could be 'milked' better than True Believers, and conversion *en masse* was to no one's interest.

Exceptionally in the district of Trebizond we have both a credible legend of conversion and an existent population, outwardly Mohammedan, which seems in some cases to retain something from the more ancient faith and in others to practise it in secret. Of the first category may be cited certain villages in the district of Rizeh, which, though Mohammedan by profession, preserve some memories of the rite of baptism and speak, not Turkish, but Armenian.[3] Crypto-Christians proper, belonging to the Greek rite and Greek by speech, also

[1] Reprinted from *J.H.S.* xli, 199 ff.

[2] Individual conversions are in a different category and have probably at all times taken place to a greater or less extent. *Cf.* Burckhardt, *Syria*, p. 197, who cites the case of a Meccan *sherif* family, which, being entrusted with the rule of the mountain, became crypto-Christians in order to have more hold over the Christians of Lebanon. Lady Burton (*Inner Life of Syria*, p. 146) records wholesale local conversions which took place in Syria on account of government or private oppression.

[3] Cuinet, *Turquie d'Asie*, i, 121. These people seem to be identical with the Armenians of the Batum district, who were converted 'two hundred years ago' (Smith and Dwight, *Missionary Researches in Armenia*, 1834, p. 457).

existed till recent years in the neighbourhood of Trebizond: they were known generally as 'Stavriotae', from a village Stavra in the ecclesiastical district of Gumush-hane. They are said at one time to have numbered 20,000 in the *vilayets* of Sivas, Angora, and Trebizond: now all have returned to the open profession of their faith.[1] The local authorities refer these populations to a persecution which arose at the end of the seventeenth century and resulted in the conversion of 8,000 families and the flight of many others to the Crimea and elsewhere. Of the converted Greeks some were till lately to be found in the mining district of Kromna and were only outwardly Mussulman; but most reverted to open Christianity about 1860.[2] Others are settled in the regions of Rizeh and Ophis;[3] all retain their language and some, in spite of their changed religion, jealously preserve their Christian sacred books.

All the traditions of the persecution at Trebizond seem to go back to one source.[4] The date (*c.* 1665) is fixed rather arbitrarily after the building date of a certain famous house which is supposed to mark a 'high-water mark' of Christian[5] prosperity and more particu-

[1] R. Janin, in *Échos d'Orient*, xiv (1912), pp. 495–505. Cuinet (*Turquie d'Asie*, i, 12) says there are 12,000 to 15,000 Kromlis, living in nine villages not far from Trebizond.

[2] S. Ioannides, Ἱστορία Τραπεζοῦντος, pp. 134–5.

[3] For the Ophites *cf.* M. Deffner, Πέντε Ἑβδομάδες παρὰ τοῖς ἀρνησιθρήσκοις ἐν Ὄφει, in Ἑστία, 1877, no. 87, pp. 547–50.

[4] Apparently S. Ioannides, Ἱστορία Τραπεζοῦντος, pp. 132 ff., which is followed by Triandaphyllides, Ποντικά, p. 56, and preface to the same author's Οἱ Φυγάδες. E. I. Kyriakides, Ἱστορία τῆς Μονῆς Σουμελᾶ, pp. 91 ff., adds a reference to Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Fontes Hist. Trapez.* i, 150–65, for a contemporary poem. David's history of Trebizond may be the source of all. For the Christian practices of the Stavriotae of Lazistan (the Ophite crypto-Christians?) see Pears, *Turkey*, p. 266 f.; Ramsay, *Impressions of Turkey*, p. 241.

[5] The Trapezuntine crypto-Christians are also mentioned casually by Hamilton, *Asia Minor*, i, 340; Smith and Dwight, *op. cit.*, p. 453; Flandin and Coste, *Voyage en Perse* (1840–1), i, 38, who call the sect

larly by the transformation of two churches (S. Sophia and S. Philip) into mosques a few years later. But the real dates of these transformations are given by Evliya[1] as 1573 and 1577 respectively, while the date of the house is irrelevant. It thus seems probable that we have to reckon with two outbursts of anti-Christian fanaticism in the sixteenth and seventeenth[2] centuries respectively. We may surmise, but cannot prove, that these were due to political circumstances, the earlier perhaps to the battle of Lepanto[3] and the later to the Russian aggressions.[4]

Kroumi (from Kromna, one of their villages) or *Messo-Messo* ('half-and-half'). The best and most recent account of them is given by Janin in *Échos d'Orient*, xiv (1912), pp. 495–505. He draws for their early history on the Greek authors mentioned above, and for recent events on local sources, describing the gradual return of the crypto-Christians to open profession of their faith. They are now said to be undergoing a forced re-conversion to Islam (*Πατρίς*, April 16, 1915).

[1] ii, 45–6. He wrote about the middle of the seventeenth century.

[2] Two Cappadocian villages near Nevshehr are said by Oberhummer and Zimmerer to have been converted to Islam 'a hundred and eighty years ago' (*Durch Syrien*, p. 143). There was an unsuccessful Turkish campaign in 1677 against the Russians. It is to be noted that Trebizond is particularly accessible to Russian agents.

[3] See below, p. 723. *Cf.* also Hobhouse, *Albania*, ii, 976.

[4] About the same time, Thomas Smith at Constantinople mentions that 'a certain Prophecy, of no small Authority, runs in the minds of all the People, and has gained great credit and belief among them, that their Empire shall be ruined by a Northern Nation, which has white and yellowish Hair. The Interpretation is as various as their Fancy. Some fix this character on the *Moscovites*; and the poor *Greeks* flatter themselves that they are to be their Deliverers . . . Others look upon the *Sweeds* as the persons describ'd in the Prophecy' (Ray's *Voyages*, ii, 80 f.). This is the 'Yellow Race' of the Prophecy of Constantine (Carnoy and Nicolaides, *Folk-Lore de Constantinople*, pp. 48 f., &c.) current already in the sixteenth century (*cf.* Gerlach, *Tage-Buch*, p. 102). The text was said to have been found in the tomb of Constantine and to have been interpreted by the patriarch Gennadius, according to the regular machinery of apocryphal 'discoveries' (see below, p. 716). As the Russians are Orthodox and the Swedes Lutheran the prophecy more probably refers to the former and may have been

The Greek authors give some curious details of the secret Christianity of their compatriots in the Trebizond

concocted about the time we first hear of it, as Ivan the Terrible was then showing that the Russians would one day be dangerous. It probably revived regularly when Russia threatened: for instance, Volney (*Voyage*, i, 42) found the prophecy common among the Turks about 1784, during the Turko-Russian war to which the treaty of Kainarjik put an end. Similarly, Hobhouse heard it during his wanderings in Turkey. The eighteenth century K. Dapontes speaks of *τῆς Ἐλισάβετ τῶν Ξανθῶν μεγάλης Βασιλίσσης* (*Κῆπος Χαρίτων*, p. 195), presumably with the prophecy in mind. In his time Burckhardt found that the Syrians made no mystery of it: the 'Yellow King' was merely another way of saying 'Emperor of Russia' (*Syria*, p. 40). According to Polites (*Παραδόσεις*, ii, 669, drawing on Du Cange, *Glossar.*, *s. v. flavus*), the prophecy appears first in Roger de Hoveden, who says that a prophecy written up over the Golden Gate of Constantinople stated that a Yellow King, who was a *Latin*, should enter by it. As the Flavian Theodosius built the Golden Gate, there may have been a long Latin inscription, full of abbreviations and containing the word *Flavius* over the gate. This, misread, may have originated the idea. It is interesting that the prophecy should have been applied first to a conqueror rather than a deliverer. Something of the same confusion as to the Yellow Race appears in the tenth-century *Ὁράσεις* of Daniel (Polites, *Παραδόσεις*, ii, 665 ff.; Migne, *Dict. des Apocryphes*, ii, 188), alleged to have been found by Leo the Wise in the tomb of Daniel, the Daniel in question having been a monk, later confounded with the Biblical prophet. The *Ὁράσεις* may thus be merely another name for Leo's oracles. Such discoveries of magic books in graves are rather interesting: they add prestige to the books in question: the 'discovery' sounds genuine owing to the practice of burying books with the dead: *cf.* L. Cahun, *Excursions sur les Bords de l'Euphrate*, p. 263, who found a copy of the Koran in a sheikh's tomb he had opened. I myself heard the same tale at Manisa. In such cases the Koran is possibly intended to help the dead in the examination he undergoes from the two angels after death, for which see especially d'Ohsson, *Tableau*, i, 239, and Lane, *Mod. Egyptians*, ii, 265 (above, p. 250). The practice among Moslems may derive ultimately from Jewish custom. Jewish rabbis are frequently buried with a pentateuch (a perfect copy is never used): hence discoveries of holy books in Jewish prophets' graves are numerous (*cf.* Loftus, *Travels in Chaldaea*, p. 36, and Migne, *Dict. des Apocryphes*, ii, 1309). Émile Deschamps, *Au Pays d'Aphrodite*, p. 230, and Tischendorf, *Terre-Sainte*, p. 201, both mention a gospel found in the tomb of Barnabas

district. They kept the Orthodox fasts strictly. Their children were baptized, and habitually bore a Christian and a Turkish name for secret and public use respectively: such Turkish names as 'Mehmet' and 'Ali' were however, avoided. As to marriage, they never gave their daughters to Turks, but the men were not averse to taking wives from among their Turkish neighbours. In this case the parties were married secretly according to the Christian rite in one of the monasteries before the consummation of the marriage. If pressure were necessary, the bridegroom threatened to leave his bride. When a crypto-Christian died, the burial service was read for him in a Christian church while he was being interred. Mollahs were sent to the crypto-Christian villages in Ramazan, but were got out of the way when services were held.[1]

I mention here for the curiosity of the subject a community of crypto-Jews alleged to exist in the neighbourhood of Pergamon at a village named Trachalla. This village was visited by MacFarlane in 1828–9:[2] according to his account, the inhabitants betray their Jewish origin by their physical type and, though in externals Mohammedans by religion, keep Saturday as a holiday. We can only suppose them to be an offshoot of the

in Cyprus. In the Jewish instances, the book, not the holy man, is the essential: as they prohibit images and are eager for knowledge to which the sacred book is the key, this book becomes almost an object of adoration with them. At Tedif near Aleppo a certain synagogue was greatly venerated by Jews on account of an ancient manuscript kept there (Pococke, *Voyages*, iii, 495). A pentateuch written by Esdras was preserved in a synagogue of Old Cairo: it was so holy that people could not look on it and live (Carmoly, *Itinéraires*, pp. 527, 542–3: *cf.* Pierotti, *Légendes Racontées*, p. 39). A glance at the half stone, half flesh image of the Virgin in the Syrian convent of Sidnaya had the same fatal effect (J. L. Porter, *Damascus*, p. 130; *cf.* Ludolf, *De Itinere*, pp. 99 ff., Maundrell, *Voyage*, Utrecht, 1705, pp. 220–1, and Baronius, *s.a.* 870).

[1] Triandaphyllides, *Ποντικά*, pp. 55–92.

[2] *Constantinople*, ii, 335 ff.

Turco-Jewish (*Dunmeh*) community of Smyrna,[1] probably attracted to the Pergamon district by its prosperity under the rule of the Karaosmanoglu family during the eighteenth century.[2]

[1] The heresy of Sabatai Tsevi, the seventeenth-century Messiah whose followers turned with him to Islam, had much hold in Smyrna, though its chief connexions are now with Salonica. A follower of his, Daniel Israel, was expelled by the Kadi from Smyrna in 1703, but seems to have been still living there in 1717 (G. Cuper, *Lettres*, pp. 396, 398).

[2] Crypto-Christians are recorded elsewhere also. Walpole mentions a group of five such Albanian villages in the Morea (*Travels*, p. 292). Professor R. M. Dawkins heard in Crete that during the Greek revolution of 1821 many Cretan crypto-Christians declared themselves openly for Christianity and were massacred accordingly. A long article by R. Michell in the *Nineteenth Century* for May 1908 describes the Lino-Vamvaki (*lit.* 'linen-cotton') of Cyprus. Hahn cites the Karamuratadhes of the middle Voyussa in Albania as recent and partial converts to Islam (*Alban. Studien*, p. 36). The alleged date (1760) of their conversion squares well with the accounts of the Vallahadhes in south-west Macedonia, for whom see Wace and Thompson, *Nomads of the Balkans*, p. 29; Bérard, *Macédoine*, pp. 110 f.; and Margaret M. Hasluck, in *Contemp. Rev.*, 1924, pp. 225 ff. Their turning seems to have been part of a considerable movement in the Balkans during the eighteenth century, when the Russian danger caused the Turks to put pressure on their *rayah* populations to convert. It may be noted that the Vallahadhes preserve their churches as they were, especially at Vrosdan, Vrondiza, and Vinyani, and frequent them at certain seasons—or so my informants assert. A community of some 400 souls exists at the present day in the heart of Constantinople itself, in the Top Kapu Serai quarter, which lies between the east end of S. Sophia and the Serai walls: outwardly they are Moslem and attend the mosque, but in secret they have eikons: they are very poor and live by making beads. Crypto-Christians are mentioned in Bosnia by Boué (*Itinéraires*, iii, 407), and in south Albania (*ibid.* iii, 407–8). On the phenomenon in general in Islam see G. Jacob, *Bektaschijje*, p. 29.

XXXIX

LISTS OF HETERODOX TRIBES

§ 1. *Yuruk Tribes*

(i) According to Tsakyroglous, *Περὶ Γιουρούκων*, pp. 13 ff.

(*a*) In the north-west portion of the Aidin *vilayet*:

Ahmedli: part at Kula, part at Simav in the adjoining *vilayet* of Brusa.

Altji (*Ἀλτσί*): about Attala as far as At-alan.

Anamasli: in the *kaza* of Demirji. It has 50 tents and 70 houses (*dam*), 16,000 beasts, and pays 15,000 piastres in *verghi*.

Arapli: about Salikli, and extends into the *vilayet* of Brusa.

Chakal: in the *sanjak* of Sarukhan.

Charik: in the *kaza* of Kula.

Farsak: all over the *vilayet* of Aidin. It is a very rich and populous tribe, counting 1,200 families.

Gueuk Musali: in *kaza* of Demirji, above the village of Injikler. It has 50 houses and 50 tents.

Ivatli: about Karneït: it possesses 22 tents.

Kachar: at Selge and Alashehr, extending south as far as Nazli. A large and important tribe divided into *mahallas*, Kula-Kachar, Keles-Kachar, Ova-Kachar, &c.[1]

Kara Tekkeli: winters about Smyrna.

Khurzum:[2] in the *vilayets* of Aidin and Brusa.

Kizil Kechili: at Prinar-Keui, in the *mudirlik* of Selenti (Kula). It has 800 tents, 60,000 beasts, and pays 60,000 piastres taxes.

Kombach: about Soma.

[1] Vambéry adds Selge Kachar.

[2] Vambéry's Khorgun.

Manavli: between Alashehr and Salikli and in the *vilayet* of Brusa.

Narinjali: *kaza* of Kula, in the neighbourhood of Omur Baba Dagh up to Denizli.

Sarach: between Ushak and Esme.

Sari Tekkeli: between Nazli and Denizli, and in the *vilayet* of Brusa.

Shehidli: *kaza* of Kula. It has 60 houses.

Sheikhli: winters at Uluborlu, summers at Afiun Kara Hisar. It is divided into ten *kabilehs* (including Arpat-sheikhli, Kisat-sheikhli, Haji-sheikhli), possesses 70–80 tents and 200 houses, and pays 15,000 piastres taxes.

Yaghji Bendirli (or *Yangji Bendir*): Soma and the *vilayet* of Brusa.

(*b*) South-western and other districts of Aidin *vilayet*.

Abdal: Uluborlu and elsewhere.

Akdaghli: about Nazli.

Ak-kozali.

Alaja Koyunlu: up to Konia.

Allah-Abeli: *sanjak* of Sarukhan.

Beylikli.

Boïni Injeli.

Burkhan: also in *vilayet* of Brusa.

Chambar: *vilayets* of Aidin and Brusa.

Chepni: an important tribe, scattered all over the Aidin *vilayet*.

Chitmi.

Dede Karkinli: *sanjak* of Sarukhan.

Deriji: *vilayets* of Aidin and Brusa.

Dosuti-Arapli.

Eski Yuruk.

Eshpek (Εσχπέκ).

Geigel.

Gerinisli: Nazli to Mughla.

Giushji: Nazli.

Guzel-beyli: about Nazli.

Harmandali.

Hartal.

Igneji (Ιγνετζί): *sanjak* of Sarukhan.

Imir-hariji: *sanjak* of Sarukhan.

Jerid: about Nazli.

Karafakoglu: *vilayets* of Aidin and Brusa.

Karamanli: Nazli to Isbarta.
Karayaghjili.
Keusheler: Nazli
Kilaz.
Kirtish.
Kislilerli: *sanjak* of Sarukhan.
Kizil-Ishikli: also in the *vilayet* of Brusa.
Koja-Beyli: *vilayets* of Aidin and Brusa.
Musarlarli: *sanjak* of Sarukhan.
Muzan: also in *vilayet* of Brusa.
Omurlu.
Rakhman.
Saatji-Karali (Σααντζὶ Καραλὶ)[1] about Nazli.
Sari-Kechili.
Tash Evli.
Tekkeli: Nazli.
Teraji.
Yataganli: about Karagach.
Yel-aldi.

(*c*) Mainly in *vilayet* of Konia:

Durgut: important tribe, perhaps Mongolian.
Piroglu.
Risfan.
Rumli or *Urumli*.
Tapanli.
Terkiani.
Turkmen.

(*d*) Exclusively in *vilayet* of Adana:

Berber.
Karsant.[2]
Menemenji.[2]
Sirkentili.[2]

(*e*) Additional (*habitat* not specified):

Barakli.
Chaban.
Chebrekli (Kurds).
Imrazli.
Kalabak.
Karandirlik.
Kechili.
Mersinli.
Nihar.
Tarazli.
Zeïbekli.

[1] *Satchi Karali* in Vambéry.

[2] These are, according to Grothe (*Vorderasienexpedition*, ii, 145), subdivisions of the Afshar tribe.

(ii) In Cilicia, according to Langlois, *Cilicie*, pp. 21 ff.

(*a*) Tarsus :

Baxis and *H. Hasanoglu* with 300 H[ouses].
Kalaunlu with 30 H.
Karakaïalu with 700 T[ents].
Kara-tekkeli with 150 H.
Melemenji with 3,000 H.
Puran and *Mustafa-bey* with 200 T.
Sortan and *Kujuoglou* with 500 H.
Tekkeli with 600 H.
Thoroglu with 300 H.

(*b*) Adana :

Busdagan [*Bosdaghan*] with 1,400 T.
Daundarlu with 200 T.
Farsak [1] with 800 T.
Jerid with 1,200 T.
Kara-hajelu with 500 H.
Karitinlu with 100 T.
Kerim-oglu with 2,500 T.
Khozanoglu with 500 H.
Sarkanteli-oglu with 800 T.
Tajerlu with 1,200 T.

(*c*) Marash :

Haji Koyunlu with 120 T.
Jejale with 200 T.
Kilisle with 400 T.

§ 2. *Turkoman Tribes*

(i) P. Russell's list as published in Niebuhr's *Voyage en Arabie* (Amsterdam), ii, 336 ff.[2]

[1] Mentioned also by Bertrandon de la Brocquière, p. 8.

[2] [Niebuhr complains of the difficulty he had experienced in making out the list because Russell had sent him no transcription of the Turkish names and he himself knew no Turkish. To facilitate use of the list by readers with no knowledge of Turkish I have sometimes inserted in square brackets a transcription more in harmony than Niebuhr's with

(*a*) In country of Sivas and Angora :

Aghsje Kiuneli [*Akje Koyunlu*] : 500 T.
Auschir [*Avshar*] : 500 T.
Beherli : 1,000 T.
Dsjerid [*Jerid*] : 500 T.
Kudsjikli [*Kuchuklu*] : 10,000 T.
Lek : 1,000 T.
Pehlivanli : 15,000 T.
Scham Biadli : 500 T.

(*b*) In Sivas district :

Dsjefrghanli [*Jaferaghanli*] : 200 T.
Eilebkeli [*Ilbekli* : *Ilbegli*] : 2,000 T. (half in Aleppo district).
Irak : 1,000 T. (summer at Sivas, winter at Zor).
Kulindsjefli : 500 T.
Rihanli : 2,000 T. (summer at Sivas, winter at Aleppo).
Sufulir [*Sofular*] : 500 T.

(*c*) In Angora district :

Burenik : 12,000 T.

(*d*) In Aintab district :

Dade Kirkan : 100 T.
Dindischli : 500 T.
Ditumli : 3,000 T.
Dsjadsjeli [*Jajeli*] : 1,000 T.
Kirsak : 2,000 T.
Musa Beikli [*Musa Beyikli* (? *Musabegli*)] : 500 T.

(*e*) In Caesarea district :

Dadli : 200 T. (summer at Caesarea, winter in Urfa *pashalik*).
Karadsjekerd [*Karaja Kurd*] : 500 T.
Kuluk [*Kulak*] : 200 T. (summer at Caesarea, winter at Adana).

(*f*) In Aleppo district :

Aulischli [*Aulashli*] : 200 T.

the spelling usually adopted by my husband. In some cases, however, the Turkish names are too corrupt even for a rough rendering. Professor Margoliouth has kindly helped me with the transcriptions.—M. M. H.]

(*g*) In Damascus district :

Kabeli : 1,000 T.
Kara Kojunli [*K. Koyunlu*] : 500 T.

(*h*) Syria, mostly Damascus *pashalik* :

Aiali : 1,000 T.
Asehdiuli [*Azedinli*] : 500 T.
Ausferli [*Auzarli*] : 1,000 T.
Eilner [*Imir*] : 500 T.
Fidsjeli : 200 T.
Kikli [*Geïkli*] : 2,000 T.
Saradsjäller [*Sarajalar*] : 500 T.
Scherefli : 500 T.
Tuchtamarli : 500 T.

(*i*) In Urfa *pashalik* :

Baujindir [*Baindir*] : 300 T.
Bekdeli : 12,000 T.
Mahmalenli : 500 T.

(ii) List according to Burckhardt, *Travels in Syria*, pp. 633 ff.

(*a*) Rihanli : 3,000 tents : north-west of Aleppo : winter in Antioch plain, summer in mountains of Gorun and Albistan.

Sub-tribes of Rihanli :

Aoutshar : 20 horsemen.
Bahaderlu : 100 horsemen : mountains of S. Simon.
Cheuslu : 200 horsemen : from Badjazze (Baias ?).
Coudanlut : 600 horsemen.
Delikanli : 600 horsemen.
Hallalu : 60 horsemen.
Kara Ahmetli : 150 horsemen.
Kara Soleimanlu : 50 horsemen.
Karken : 20 horsemen.
Leuklu : 100 horsemen.
Okugu : 50 horsemen.
Serigialar : [1] 500 horsemen : Maden.
Toroun : 60 horsemen.

[1] [Niebuhr's Saradjalar.—M. M. H.]

(*b*) *Jerid*: between Badjazze (Baias?) and Adana: winter in plains, summer in the Armenian mountains.

Sub-tribes of Jerid:	*Karegialar* [*Karajalar*].
Aoutshar.	*Leck.*[1]
Bosdagan.	*Tegir.*[2]
Jerid.	

(*c*) *Pehlivanli*: live in district of Bosurk (? Bozuk, near Angora) and near Constantinople; summer one day's distance from the Rihanli.

(*d*) *Rishwans*: winter in Haimaneh district near Angora formerly near Aleppo.

Sub-tribes of the Rishwans:

Deleyanli.	*Mandolli.*
Gelikanli.	*Omar Anli.*

(*e*) *Karashukli*: near Bir on Euphrates.[3]

(iii) For comparison I add the list [4] of sub-tribes of

[1] These speak a language of their own (Burckhardt, *op. cit.*, p. 642).

[2] *Cf.* Grothe's *Tedjerli*, below, p. 482.

[3] A comparison with the list of the Turkomans of Luristan as given by Rawlinson (in *J.R.G.S.*, ix, 1839, 103) is also of interest. He enumerates them as follows: *Ulaki* and *Mal Ahmedi*, with 400 families, wintering at Sar Dasht and Dizful, summering at Japalak and Silakhir: *Bukhtiyariwand* with 600 families and the same *habitat* as the above: *Duraki* with 400 families, summering at Chahar Mahal and wintering as above: *Sallaki* with 2,000 families, summering at Burburud: *Kunursi* with 1,000 families, summering at Feridun and about Zardah Kuh, wintering at Ram Hormuz, Janniki-Garmasir, and about Shuster: *Suhuni* with 1,500 families, *habitat* as Kunursi: *Mahmud Saleh* with 1,000 families and same *habitat*: *Mogui* with 500 families, *Memiwand* with 4,000, and *Zallaki* with 4,000, all with *habitat* as Kunursi: *Bawai* with 3,000 families, *Urak* and *Shaluh* combined with 2,500 families, summering at Bazuft and wintering at Susan and Mal Amir.

[4] [The corrections are Sir Harry Lamb's.—M. M. H.]

the AFSHARS given by H. Grothe, *Vorderasienexpedition*, ii, 145, n. 2.

Awschar.
Beisgitli.
Bosdan [Bosdaghan].
Djedjeli Salmanly.
Djerid.
Farsak.
Hadji Mustafa Ali-Uschak.
Hadji Mustafa Redje[*b*] *Uschak.*
Hodjan Ali [Hojanli].
Hür-Uschak.
Jaidji-Usch[*ak*].
Karsanty.
Kekili Uschak.
Kirli.
Kosan.
Melemendji.
Schabbach.
Tedjerli.
Torun.

(iv) KURDS[1] of Cilicia according to Langlois, *Cilicie*, p. 23.

Afshar with 3,000 T.
Karalar with 600 T.
Karsanteli with 1,300 T.
Lek with 150 T.

[1] Some Kurds are pagan, some are Sunni, and some are said to be Yezidi (Langlois, *op. cit.*, p. 23). They winter at Adana and summer at Caesarea.

XL

HAJI BEKTASH AND THE JANISSARIES

Introductory

THE institution of the first Turkish standing army, the famous corps of Janissaries, enrolled by the sultans from a tithe taken on Christian children, is the subject of a picturesque legend till recently accepted as fact by the gravest historians. This legend associates the Ottoman sultan Orkhan with the saint Haji Bektash as co-founders of the Janissary system. Orkhan, the story runs, having raised his first levy of Christian youths for the corps, sent them to Haji Bektash, whom they found in the neighbourhood of Amasia, to crave his benediction. Haji Bektash, laying his hand on the heads of the recruits, invoked the blessing of heaven on the 'new troops' or *yeni cheri*; this was the origin of the name of the corps, by westerns corrupted into *Janissary*. In commemoration, as was said, of this benediction, the Janissaries wore attached to their head-dress a flap or pendant of cloth, supposed to represent the sleeve of the saint's habit, which had so fallen as he raised his hand to the recruits' heads in the act of blessing them.[1]

In this legend, which cannot be traced farther back than the second half of the sixteenth century, two centuries later than the events related, Orkhan and Haji Bektash are represented as the civil and religious founders respectively of the Janissaries. Orkhan and the Janissaries are of course historical; the date of the foundation of the Janissaries has been disputed, and the

[1] Hammer-Hellert, *Hist. Emp. Ott.*, i, 123 f. A slightly different version is given by Evliya, *Travels*, I, ii, 106. See also below, p. 613, n. 3.

existence of an historical Haji Bektash called in question. Our investigation will thus concentrate on three points:

1. The date of the foundation of the Janissaries.
2. The personality of Haji Bektash.
3. The connexion of Haji Bektash with the Janissaries.

§ 1. *The Date of the Institution of the Janissaries*

Though von Hammer's authority has won general acceptance for the story given above, if we go behind von Hammer we find in the various authorities very conflicting accounts of the origin of the Janissaries, and especially in the matter of date; their institution is attributed to the reigns of at least four sultans, viz.:

1. Osman I (1299 to 1326): this is the version of Chalcondyles, who is supposed to have died shortly after the fall of Constantinople.[1]

2. Orkhan (1326 to 1360): this is the canonized version accepted by von Hammer on the authority of the Turkish historians Neshri (early sixteenth century) and Ali (d. 1599). The name of the vizir immediately responsible for the Janissary system is given as Kara Khalil.[2]

3. Murad I (1360 to 1389) is credited with the institution of the Janissaries by two Venetian *Relations* of the late sixteenth century,[3] by Marsigli,[4] and by Cantimir.[5]

4. Murad II (1421 to 1451), by Giovio[6] and George-

[1] P. 8 P.: *τοῦτον ἴσμεν . . . τάξιν ἀρίστην ἀποδείξασθαι ἀμφ' αὐτόν, τὴν θύρας Βασιλέως* [see below, p. 486] *καλοῦσι.*

[2] *Hist. Emp. Ott.* i, 123 f., and note, p. 384.

[3] Alberi, *Relazioni degli Ambasciatori Veneti*, ser. III, vol. iii, p. 343 (Moro in 1590), and ser. III, vol. ii, p. 331 (Lorenzo in 1592).

[4] *État Mil. de l'Emp. Ott.*, p. 67.

[5] i, 34, *s. a.* 1362.

[6] Cited by Leunclavius, *Pandectes*, § 35. Giovio's treatise on the Turks (*Cose de Turchi*) is dated 1531 by the introductory letter

wicz,[1] as by other authorities of less independent value.[2]

The usual explanation of these puzzling discrepancies has been hitherto to assume that the Janissary system was instituted by an early sultan and reformed or systematized by Murad I or II. For this there is considerable authority,[3] though the nature of the changes introduced by the reformer remains vague.

The distinctive feature of the Janissary system is the recruitment of the corps from a levy of the Christian children of the Empire, who were forcibly converted and specially trained for their profession. Of the levy of children as practised in the seventeenth century Evliya gives the following account.

'Every seven years a Colonel of the Janissaries . . . sets out with five or six hundred men for Rumeli, to draft from all the villages, Albanese, Greek, Albanian, Servian, and Bulgarian boys. The seven or eight thousand boys collected in that way, according to the institute of Sultan Orkhan, sanctified by the benediction of Haji Begtash, are dressed in the town of Uskub, in jackets (Muwahadi) of red Aba, with a cleft on the shoulders, and with caps of red felt. . . . Arrived at Constantinople, their names are put down in register, and they are called Ajemoghlans, receiving twenty aspers, and half a piece of cloth a year. The best are given to the artillery, the armourers, and the Bostanji, because this is the heaviest service.'[4]

[1] Georgewicz returned from his Turkish captivity not later than 1544, when he wrote his widely read *De Turcorum Moribus Epitome.*

[2] Geuffroy, *Court du Grant Turc*, Paris, 1546, cited by Leunclavius, *Pandectes*, § 35: see also Nicolay, *Raisz und Schiffart*, p. 144 of the Antwerp (1577) edition. The voyage was made in 1551, but the author takes most of his information on the Turks from earlier authors.

[3] *Cf.* Phrantzes, 92 B: ['Αμουράτης] πρῶτος τοῖς ἰαννιτζάροις τὰ προνόμια ἃ ἔχουσιν ἐχαρίσατο· παλαιόθεν μὲν τὸ αὐτὸ τάγμα ἑτέρας συνηθείας καὶ τάξεις καὶ ἐνδύματα εἶχον.

[4] Evliya, *Travels*, I, ii, 210. De Brèves states that in villages of mixed population Moslem parents sometimes passed their children off as Christian in order to assure them a career as Janissaries (*Moyens de Ruiner un Turc*, p. 24). One source of profit was the payments

Of this systematic collection of Christian children for service there is no hint in the early accounts of the Janissaries. Especially notable is the silence of Ibn Batuta, a Moorish traveller who visited the court of Orkhan; of Schiltberger, a prisoner of Nikopolis (1396) who passed many years as a slave in western Asia; and of Bertrandon de la Brocquière, a Burgundian soldier who travelled overland from Syria into Europe in 1432–3, taking a special and professional interest in Turkish military affairs.

The truth seems to be that the earlier sultans maintained a kind of bodyguard or *corps d'élite* formed of bought or captured slaves.[1] As in other Mohammedan countries, the sultan had the right to one-fifth of all prisoners as of all booty captured in war.[2] In the case of the early Turkish sultans the prisoners would be mainly Christians. This force was reorganized by one of the Murads: the prisoners were induced to abjure their faith by the privileges the service offered, and specially trained in the arts of war.[3] The members of this corps are called by Chalcondyles [4] and by Ducas (who mentions its presence at the battle of Nikopolis) *πόρτα* or *θύρα*, which the latter explains as indicating that these troops stood at the sultan's gate.[5] In later

made to the Janissaries by local Christians in order to avoid oppression by the former: *cf.* Niebuhr, *Voyage en Arabie*, ii, 296; Burckhardt, *Syria*, p. 654. Professor Dawkins heard a similar tale told in Crete of the grandfather of Professor Hatzidakis. For the steps in a Janissary's career from *ajemoghlan* to *bostanji* and Janissary see Quiclet, *Voyages*, p. 211.

[1] *Cf.* Bertrandon de la Brocquière, ed. Wright, pp. 347, 349.

[2] This right was exercised as late as the seventeenth century by the Ottoman sultans (Evliya, *Travels*, I, ii, 170). Hottinger (*Hist. Orient.*, p. 463) quotes George of Hungary as saying that the sultans claimed one tenth only of the booty.

[3] Chalcondyles, pp. 121–2 P. [4] P. 8 P. (quoted above).

[5] P. 52: [*οἱ Τοῦρκοι*] *οἵ τινες πόρτα καλεῖται οἷον θύρα τοῦ παλατίου τῆς αὐλῆς*. At this time Ducas says they were all bought slaves and over 10,000 in number: Sanuto (*Diarii*, i, 398) records 8,000 in 1496;

times certain Janissaries to whom these duties were entrusted were denominated *Kapu Kulu* ('Slaves of the Gate')[1] which we may perhaps assume was the original title of the early sultans' guards.

The earliest occurrence of the word Janissary (γενίτζερι translated νεοσύλλεκτος στρατὸς = *yeni sheri*), at least in a Christian author, seems to be that of Ducas in the middle of the fifteenth century: the Janissaries of his time were still largely Christian prisoners of war.[2] It is hard to believe that the levy of Christian children, always a bitter grievance to the Greeks, is thus passed over by a Greek author if the system already existed: yet in some form it certainly did, since in the Capitulations of Pera (1453) the children of the Perote Genoese are expressly exempted from impressment.[3]

The truth is, probably, that the levy of children was not yet systematized. So late as 1472 Cippico describes the Janissaries as recruited largely from the sultan's fifth of the prisoners of war; only when prisoners were not available in sufficient quantity were the numbers made up by the forcible impressment of Christian children.[4] So that the organization of the system, so far from dating back to Orkhan or even Murad I, must be referred to a date subsequent to 1472.

Georgewicz (*op. cit.*) states that there were 12,000 in his time. This association with the gate has evidently (through *janua*) aided in the formation of the western word *Janissary*, which is used by English and French writers long after the dispersal of the corps for what is now called a *kavass* (*cf.* J. Farley, *Two Years in Syria*, p. 198; Lady Duff Gordon, *Letters from Egypt*, p. 87; Lubomirski, *Jérusalem*, p. 285). The fantastic derivations given by de Vigenère, *Illustr. sur Chalcondile*, p. 69 (in de Mezeray, *Hist. des Turcs*, vol. ii), may be ignored.

[1] Marsigli, *État Mil. de l'Emp. Ott.*, p. 66. [2] Pp. 137 f.

[3] Miklosich and Müller, *Acta et Diplom. Gr.* iii, 287–8: *cf.* Belgrano, in *Atti Soc. Lig.* xiii, 228.

[4] In Sathas, *Μνημ. Ἑλλ. Ἱστ.* vii, 281: 'Se non possono avere prigioni, togliono per forza a' Cristiani loro sudditi per ogni parte del loro imperio i lor figliuoli.'

§ 2. *The Personality of Haji Bektash*

The traditional Haji Bektash is represented as having founded the dervish order which bears his name (*Bektashi*) as well as having blessed the Janissaries. He was both missionary and warrior. In the former character he is said to have established through his disciples seven hundred convents (*tekkes*) of dervishes, one in each of the towns conquered by Orkhan,[1] in the latter to have taken part with Orkhan in the siege of Brusa.[2] The connexion with Orkhan is firmly established by tradition in the seventeenth century.

According to the latest authorities, however, the heretical Hurufi, about 1400, usurped the tomb of Haji Bektash near Kirshehr and foisted their own doctrines as those of Haji Bektash on the latter's disciples.[3] From this time onwards has existed the (merely nominal) connexion of the Bektashi sect with Haji Bektash ; the long cycle of legend attaching to the saint's name seems to be the invention of the usurpers.

The earliest European writer who mentions Haji Bektash, George of Hungary, passed part of a long captivity in Turkey, apparently near Eskishehr, in the early years of the fifteenth century, yet knows the saint only as a patron of pilgrims.[4] Ashik Pasha Zade, the earliest Turkish historian,[5] whose family was from the district of Kirshehr, where Haji Bektash lies buried,

[1] Evliya Efendi, *Travels*, ii, 21.

[2] *Ibid.* ii, 4. The Brusa cycle is evidently devised to bridge the gap between Orkhan's capital and the *habitat* of Haji Bektash, as also to give the prestige of antiquity to Bektashi foundations in Brusa. Further details of the life and apocryphal works of Haji Bektash are given by Evliya, ii, 19 f. and ii, 70.

[3] See above, p. 135.

[4] *De Moribus Turcorum*, cap. xv : 'Est alius vocatus Hatschi Pettesch, quod interpretatur quasi adiutorius peregrinationis, qui etiam multum invocatur et veneratur maxime a peregrinis, qui eius auxilium experiri dicuntur.'

[5] He lived in the reign of Bayezid II (1482–1512) : *cf.* von Hammer, *Jardin des Mosquées*, p. 31 (318), in *Hist. Emp. Ott.* xviii.

denies his connexion with Orkhan, giving the following account of him :

'[Hâjee Begtâsh] had never any connection with the Ottoman Sultans. He came from Khorassan with his brother Mentish and they established themselves at Siwas near to Baba Ilias. At a later period they went to Caisarieh, from which place his brother returned to their own country by Siwas, and was killed on the way. Begtâsh, whilst on his way from Caisarieh to the Kaza Ujuk [1] died, and was interred there where his holy tomb still exists.' [2]

Here we have an early author from Haji Bektash's own country stoutly denying his traditional connexion with the early Ottoman sultans, which is on the face of it improbable, since neither the Amasia district, in which the Blessing of the Janissaries is generally located,[3] nor the site of the saint's tomb became part of the Ottoman dominions till comparatively late. The words of Ashik Pasha Zade may have also a positive value, and the clue to the elusive personality of Haji Bektash may lie in his statement that the saint was the 'brother of Mentish'. Following this clue, we have already concluded [4] that the original Haji Bektash was no more than the eponymous ancestor of the Bektashli tribe, kinsmen of the tribe which had his 'brother' Mentish for ancestor.

§ 3. *The Connexion of Haji Bektash with the Janissaries*

From a tribal eponym worshipped in a village Haji Bektash easily became, under the influence of the

[1] Perhaps *Kazi Uyuk Boghaz* near Koch Hisar.

[2] Ashik Pasha Zade, quoted by J. P. Brown, *Dervishes*, p. 141.

[3] The spot is generally given as Su Kenar, near Amasia. In the district of Amasia, Haji Khalfa (tr. Armain, p. 683) notes (between Turkhal and Merzifun) the tomb of a certain Haji Baba who 'made a wall walk'. This miracle is especially characteristic of Haji Bektash (see above, p. 289 (for it at Beybazar *cf.* Evliya, *Travels*, ii, 240) and may account for his association with the district of Amasia.

[4] Above, p. 341.

powerful sect which adopted him, a saint respected by a larger community. The so-called Bektashi sect, growing in power, eventually captured the Janissary organization. The Janissaries adopted Haji Bektash as their patron and were all affiliated to the sect. From 1591 onwards this connexion was officially recognized ;[1] the General of the Bektashi was given the honorary title of Colonel of Janissaries, and dervishes of the order were regularly quartered in the Janissaries' barracks and marched with them in public processions and on campaign. It is just before this official recognition that we first hear of the legend connecting Haji Bektash with the corps. There are two distinct cycles of legend concerning the connexion of Haji Bektash with the Janissaries :

(1) The canonized version, as we have seen, lays stress on the formal consecration of the new troops by Haji Bektash, which takes place in Asia Minor during the reign and at the instance of Sultan Orkhan. This version, including the incident of the sleeve, occurs at least as early as the second half of the sixteenth century.[2] The story was not, however, universally accepted, and its authenticity is denied by the contemporary historians Tash-Kupru-Zade (d. 1560) and Ali (d. 1599).[3]

(2) In the second version of the legend Haji Bektash plays a less conspicuous part. The institution of the Janissaries is associated with Murad I and his martyr's death on the field of Kossovo. Haji Bektash is introduced somewhat awkwardly and loses his life with the sultan. The Janissaries are instituted in accordance with his dying instructions or as a tribute to his memory. Our versions of this legend date from the seventeenth and

[1] D'Ohsson, *Tableau*, ii, 312 ; iii, 325.

[2] Leunclavius, *Pandectes*, § 35.

[3] Jacob, *Beiträge*, p. 3 ; the same author says that the incident is mentioned neither by Neshri nor by Saad-ed-din. The latter, indeed, connects the head-dress of the Janissaries with the Mevlevi order, see below, p. 613, and n. 3.

eighteenth centuries, but it appears to have been current earlier, since a Venetian *Relazione* of 1590[1] speaks of the institution of the Janissaries by Murad I 'in memory of one of his *Santons* Aribietas (*sic*)'. Rycaut gives the story as follows:

'In the time that the Warlike and Victorious *Sultan Amurath* passed with his army into *Servia*, and overcame *Lazarus*, the Despot of that Countrey, and slew him in Battel, *Bectash* was then a preacher to *Amurath*, who amongst other his Admonitions forewarned him of trusting the *Servians*; but *Amurath*, out of his couragious spirit relying on his own Wisedom and Force, admitted a certain Nobleman called *Vilvo*, upon pretence of doing him homage, to approach near him and kiss his hand, who having his Dagger ready and concealed, stabbed *Amurath* to the heart, and with that blow made him a Martyr. *Bectash* knowing that this treacherous death of his Prince, must needs also be the cause of his, for being so near his person, and prophesying of this fatal stroke, sought not to prevent it, but made preparations for his own death. And in order thereunto provided himself with a white Robe with long Sleeves, which he proffered to all those which were his Admirers, and Proselytes, to be kissed as a mark of their obedience to him and his Institutions.

'This *Bectash* at his death cut off one of his sleeves and put it on the head of one of his religious men, part of which hung down on his shoulders saying, "after this you shall be *Janizaries*", which signified a new militia; and from that time begun their original institution; so this is the reason why the Janizaries wear Caps falling behind after the manner of sleeves, called *Ketche*.'[2]

Aaron Hill gives a similar story with slight variations in detail:

'The death of *Bectaſh* immediately ſucceeded that of *Amurath*, for having often propheſy'd the Blow and not preventing it, tho' near the *Sultan's* Perſon, he was cut in pieces by the furious Guards, as a *party* in the Treaſon; but foreſeeing eaſily,

[1] Alberi, *Relazioni degli Ambasciatori Veneti*, ser. III, vol. iii, p. 343.
[2] Rycaut, *Ottoman Empire*, p. 72.

what Fate would ſoon befall him, he rent off a long Sleeve, which he wore continually on his Right Arm, and putting it upon the Head of one of the Soldiers, cried out prophetically in the *Turkish* Language,

Life from my Death ſhall like a Phoenix ſpring,
To Guard from Dangers your Succeeding King.

THIS ſaid, he Fell, a bloody Victim to the Soldiers Anger, but had his *Prophecy* compleatly verifi'd in the Firſt Year of the next *Sultan's* Reign, who reflecting ſeriouſly on the Fate of *Bectaſh*, reſolved to take ſome Method of *perpetuating* his Memory, and Inſtituted a New Order of the Militia, by the Name of *Janiſaries*, who to this Day in Imitation of the Sleeve which *Bectaſh* put upon the Soldiers Head, are all obliged to wear a Headpiece fac'd with polliſh'd Steel, to which is faſtned a large piece of *Buff*, that falling in a moderate Breadth from the Crown of their Head ſpreads gradually wider to the midle of their Backs.' [1]

There is no corresponding cycle of legend to connect Haji Bektash with the less prominent figure of Murad II, who, however, as a matter of history, seems to have been much under the influence of dervishes.[2]

To sum up, the legendary connexion between Haji Bektash and the Janissaries cannot be traced farther back than the second half of the sixteenth century, and at least two respectable authors [3] of this date deny its authenticity. It therefore antedates by only a few years the official recognition of the connexion between the Bektashi dervishes and the Janissaries. I have attempted elsewhere to show that every point in the legend, which is devised to increase the power and prestige of the Bektashi, can be paralleled by similar,

[1] *Ottoman Empire* (1710), p. 19.

[2] Phrantzes (p. 92) says that Murad II, after his abdication and retirement, himself assumed the dervish habit at Brusa (ὕστερον ἐφάνη αὐτῷ δερβίσης γενέσθαι ἤγουν μοναχός, καὶ ἐν τῇ Προύσῃ περάσας ἐγένετο) : *cf.* Hottinger, *Hist. Orient.*, pp. 482 ff., quoting George of Hungary.

[3] Tash-Kupru-Zade and Ali.

and equally apocryphal, legends connecting the origins of the Janissaries with the Mevlevi.[1]

Our conclusions are thus (1) that the recruiting of the Janissaries from specially trained Christian children,[2] as opposed to the much older employment of slaves and prisoners of war for the sultan's bodyguard, was a gradual change put on a regular footing in the fifteenth century at earliest ; (2) that Haji Bektash was originally a tribal saint afterwards exploited by the Hurufi-Bektashi sect and arbitrarily adopted by the Janissaries ; and (3) that the canonized legend of Haji Bektash, Orkhan, and the first Janissaries is entirely fictitious and probably devised to forward the Bektashi intrigue, which resulted in the ' capture ' of the Janissary organization and in the official recognition of Haji Bektash as its spiritual patron and of the Bektashi order as its spiritual allies.

[1] *B.S.A.*, xix, 214, note 1 : reprinted below, p. 613, n. 3.

[2] In South Albania, Fadil Bey Klissura informed me, it is said that Haji Bektash was seized in childhood and brought up as a Mohammedan ; later on he studied Christianity and, recognizing its superiority, invented Bektashism as a link between the two religions. This is a combination of the Janissary-Christian children tradition and of the fact that Bektashis and Christians are more friendly with each other than either is with Sunnis.

XLI

GEORGE OF HUNGARY, CHAPTER XV

Introductory

THE following is a chapter (xv) translated from a tract published anonymously towards the end of the fifteenth century and entitled *Tractatus de Moribus condictionibus et nequicia Turcorum*. The author, variously known as George of Hungary and as George von Mühlenbach, was a slave in Turkey during the middle years of the century (about 1436–58) and on internal evidence seems to have been employed by a Turkoman *bey* as herdsman in the interior of Asia Minor. It appears that the district with which he was familiar included the pilgrimages of Sidi Ghazi, buried near Eskishehr, of Haji Bektash, buried in the village of the same name, and of Ashik Pasha, buried at Kirshehr; the clerical studies he had already begun at Schebesch (in German Mühlenbach) when Murad II took the town in 1436 explain the interest he took in Turkish religious practice.[1] Beyond the special value

[1] According to his own account (quoted by Cuspinian, *De Turcorum Origine*, f. 8 *verso*, who seems the only source of Schloezer's vague note on George in his *Krit. Hist. Neben Stunden*, p. 91), George was born about 1420 in the province of Siebenbürgen (*Lat.* Septem Castra, whence his name of *Septemcastrensis monachus* in Hottinger, *Hist. Orient.* pp. 457–8). On his release from captivity he became a Dominican monk (*cf.* Quétif, *Script. Ord. Praedic.* i, 901 *a*) and finally died at Rome, where he was buried in the church of S. Maria sopra Minerva, according to Quétif, *loc. cit.*, and a manuscript gloss on the British Museum copy IA. 19161 of the undated edition of his *Tractatus*, which was published at Rome *c.* 1481; the gloss adds that his tomb was famous for its miracles. The church in question is a Dominican foundation (*cf.* Baedeker, *Central It.*, p. 211). Hottinger (*op. cit.*, pp. 457–8, 459) rightly distinguishes Septemcastrensis monachus, author of *Tractatus de Moribus Turcorum*, from Bartholomaeus

of the passage for Turkish popular religion, the lively picture of social conditions among country Turks at this date more than justifies its publication.

Translation

Among others of this sect, who after their death have become and still are famous for false signs and prodigies, there is one principal, who hath great repute and veneration in all Turkey. His name is *Sedichasi*,[1] which is, being interpreted, *S. Victor* or *Victorious among saints*. His sepulchre and shrine are on the marches of the Ottomans and the Karamans, and, though these two be oftentimes at loggerheads, one invading the lands of the other, yet none dare ever draw near to his sepulchre or do scathe to the lands that are near it. For, as hath oftentimes been proven, if any venture this, upon them falleth the mighty vengeance of the saint. And the common voice of all hath it that none of them that implore his help in any necessity whatsoever, but especially in the works of war and in the conduct of battles, hath ever been cheated of his desire. And this is proved by the great number of vows that are paid each year by the king, the princes, and the common folk at his sepulchre in money, in all sorts of beasts, and in kind. For he hath very great fame and reputation, not only among the Turks, but also among all nations of that persuasion. And I would say that for these signs and prodigies he hath greater repute among Mohamme-

Georgewicz, author of *De Turcorum Moribus Epitome*, whereas Hammer-Hellert (*Hist. Emp. Ott.* ii, 290) incorrectly identifies one with the other. Our author, who is *Frater* George of Hungary, is also to be distinguished from *Magister* George of Hungary, who lived about the same time and wrote various mathematical tracts. [In expanding into the above note the somewhat scanty indications left by my husband I have had much assistance from Dr. H. Thomas and Mr. Wharton of the British Museum.—M. M. H.]

[1] Sidi Ghazi [Said-el-Ghazi] buried near Eskishehr (see below, pp. 705–10).

dans in general than hath *Saint Anthony* among Christians.

And there is another called *Hatschi Pettesch*,[1] which is, being interpreted, as who should say *Pilgrims' Help*; he also is much invoked and revered, most of all by pilgrims, who are said to receive his help.

Another is called *Ascik passa*, who hath his name from love and is called, as it were, *Patron of Love*; he is said to aid persons newly wed, or in the travail of childbirth, or in the quarrels of husband and wife, or other such-like necessities.

Alwan passa[2] grants concord to them that are at strife, and of him men say that to them that seek him he appears now as a youth and now as an old man.

Sheych passa[3] solaces them that are troubled and afflicted.

But in those parts where I dwelt there were many aforetime held for saints whose names are forgotten. None the less their sepulchres are held in great veneration, for, if they are distressed for rain, or for fair weather, or for any such-like need, they do meet together at the sepulchres of these, and, having made their vows and orisons, go home with great hope they shall be heard. And at these meetings I oftentimes consorted with them, hoping that I might eat of the good things they carried with them to feast withal.

But among these are two whose names they know, and of these one is called *Goivelmir tchin* and the other *Barthschum passa*.[4] In those same parts men were used to tell their marvellous doings, and chiefly in the guard-

[1] Haji Bektash: for the derivation of the name see below, p. 575, n. 5.

[2] Probably Elwan Chelebi, buried near Chorum (Anderson, *Stud. Pont.* i, 9 ff.: *cf.* above, p. 48.

[3] *Cf.* Lucas's 'Chek Baba' (*Voyage fait en 1714*, i, 180), probably the patron of the still existing Sheikhli tribe (see above, p. 337).

[4] For these two difficult and perhaps corrupt names I can make no suggestion.

ing and keeping of sheep and other beasts; this most of all of him who is called *Goivelmir tchin*, of whom my Lady herself was used often to tell that she had received great blessings from him in the keeping of her calves. For this cause she was fain each year to vow and pay a certain measure of butter, and would add also thereto, saying, 'If I forget or neglect to pay my vow, anon I suffer therefor.' And she bade me also invoke him if a wolf vexed me as I fed my sheep.

Nor can I forbear to speak of a story my Lord was often wont to tell. One day, as he said, a bull of his herd was missing when the rest returned from pasture. And anon he called together the neighbours, as is the custom in those parts, each equipping himself as for the chase, with bow, arrows, and dogs, and, setting forth that same evening, searched the nearer woods, but found no trace and returned. On the morrow in like manner they ranged over all the pasture-grounds and came at nothing. On the third day, as it drew on to even and they were returning, weary and forlorn of all hope, on a sudden my Lord as he pondered bethought him and took a vow to this effect, that for the love of the saint *Goivelmir tchin*, if the beast should be found, he would eat with the pilgrims a hot loaf with butter laid thereon, the which they call 'paslama'.[1] And while he still thought thereon, on a sudden there was a running together and a shouting, and lo! the bull was found, caught by the horns in a certain forked tree. And the marvel was the greater insomuch that for three days they had ranged that same place, nor (save for a miracle) could the bull have been spared by wild beasts. Then my Lord spake to them all of the vow he had made, and they marvelled greatly and gave thanks unto God and praised the name of *Goivelmir tchin* and so returned home with joy and gladness, not alone

[1] *Paslama*, a word still in use, is a sort of 'pasty' containing meat or vegetables.

for the finding of the bull, but also for the miracle which had been vouchsafed unto them.

And there is another named *Chiderelles*,[1] who is before all a helper of travellers in need. Such is his repute in all Turkey that there is scarce any man to be found that hath not himself experienced his help or heard of others that have so done. He manifesteth himself in the shape of a traveller riding on a grey horse, and anon relieveth the distressed wayfarer, whether he hath called on him, or whether, knowing not his name, he hath but commended himself to God, as I have heard on several hands.

But another marvel also must I tell for its manifest truth, and this is told by men who were themselves at that time living.

Now there were on a time certain religious men of that place which was near to us,[2] and these were slandered that they had made a complot against the king. Who, being exceeding wroth thereat, gave order that they should all be burnt alive. But he that was chief among them, after that he had essayed vainly to excuse or justify himself and his fellows, did publicly protest his innocence and theirs, and himself before the king entered first into the furnace to be burned. And for that the fire fled back before him, he went unscathed and abated the rage of the king and saved himself and his fellows from imminent peril of death, leaving unto his descendants and to all people of that persuasion this solemn ensample. And the shoes that with him went unscathed in the furnace are conserved to this day in those parts.

And there was another which still lived in the flesh not far from those parts where I abode. And of his

[1] Khidr-Elles, the 'Turkish S. George', with whom he shares the spring festival (April 23): see above, pp. 320 ff.

[2] Possibly the convent of Sidi Ghazi: *cf.* Menavino, *Cose Turchesche* (1548), p. 60.

mighty deeds there are very many that I have heard told whereof I hold my peace. But his fame was so bruited abroad that in every place where men frequented and gathered together there was talk of his true divinations of hidden matters and mostly of things lost or stolen ; insomuch that through him thieves and robbers ceased from the land in his time, for none dared show his head, and, though they laid many snares to catch him, yet could they do him no hurt. And what is a far greater marvel, to many of them that came to him he revealed their secret thoughts ere yet they had made them known to him.

XLII

GEOGRAPHICAL DISTRIBUTION OF THE BEKTASHI [1]

Introductory

IN the following pages an attempt has been made to bring together scattered notices from printed sources regarding the geographical distribution of the Bektashi sect, as indicated by the position of existing, or formerly existing, convents of the order.[2] I have further included such information on this subject as I have been able to obtain from my own journeys and inquiries (1913–15) among the Bektashi: nearly all this information is gathered from Bektashi sources, and much from more than one such source. I hope to have made a fairly complete record of Bektashi establishments in Albania, now the most important sphere of their activities, and a substantial basis for further inquiry in the other countries where the sect is to be found, with the exception of Asia Minor, for which my sources are inadequate.

From the evidence at our disposal the Bektashi establishments in Asia Minor would seem to be grouped most thickly in the Kizilbash or Shia Mohammedan districts, especially (1) in the *vilayets* of Angora and Sivas, and (2) in the south-west corner (Lycia) of that of Konia, where the Shia tribes are known from their occupation as *Takhtaji* ('wood-cutters').[3] For the third great stronghold of Anatolian Shias, the Kurdish *vilayets* of Kharput and Erzerum, no information as to Bektashi *tekkes* is available.

In Europe, southern Albania, with its population of Christians converted in relatively recent times to Islam,

[1] An earlier edition of this chapter appeared in the *B.S.A.* xxi, 84 ff.

[2] On the Bektashi and their organisation see above, pp. 159 ff.

[3] See above, pp. 158 f.

is the only country in which the Bektashi are strongly represented at the present day. Crete, where their numbers were till recently considerable, and the Kastoria district of Macedonia present the same phenomenon of Bektashism grafted on a Christian population. Elsewhere one sees traces of successful propaganda amongst the immigrant Asiatic village communities, which were probably half pagan and wholly nomadic at their first appearance in Europe. Such are the 'Koniari' of southern Macedonia and Thessaly,[1] the Yuruks of the Rhodope, and the Tatars of the Dobruja. From the number of *tekkes* traceable, in the Adrianople district especially, it seems legitimate to suppose that such military centres, owing to the close connexion which existed for more than two centuries between the Bektashi and the Janissaries, formed at one time important *foci* of missionary endeavour.

It seems possible to detect a characteristic variation in the types of Bektashi saint venerated in Anatolia, European Turkey, and Albania respectively. In Anatolia the typical saint is regarded as a missionary more or less closely connected with Haji Bektash himself,[2] and consequently so remote as to be mythical. In European Turkey the saints are again remote and ancient, being referred to the period of the Turkish conquest, but they are regarded primarily as warriors rather than as missionaries. This points to the development of Bektashism in these countries under the auspices of the Janissary-Bektashi combination in the sixteenth and following centuries. In Albania the typical saint is again a missionary, but differs both from the 'Anatolian' and the 'Rumelian' types in laying no claim to great antiquity:

[1] [Now transferred to Asia Minor according to the Treaty of Lausanne (1923).—M. M. H.].

[2] *Cf.* Evliya, *Travels*, ii, 20 f.: 'The seven hundred convents of Dervishes, Begtáshí, which actually exist in Turkey, are derived from the seven hundred dervishes of Haji Begtash.'

the Bektashi propaganda in Albania dates confessedly from the eighteenth century and the saints are historical persons.

We may further remark as regards the position of Bektashi *tekkes* that, whereas those of other orders are generally found in, or in the immediate neighbourhood of, the larger centres of population, those of the Bektashi are situated, as a rule, either in quite isolated positions or on the outskirts of villages. This is due, no doubt, partly to the fact that their propaganda and influence largely touch rustic populations, and partly to the hostility with which they are regarded by the Sunni clergy.[1] We may reasonably assume that, between the capture of the Janissaries by the Bektashi (about 1590) and the destruction of the former (1826), the provincial garrisons of Janissaries, like that of Constantinople, had a resident Bektashi sheikh in their barracks, and presumably a *tekke* within easy reach. These have, since 1826, ceased to exist as such, but the saints' *mausolea* still often to be found in, or at the entrance to, Turkish citadels may very probably be a surviving remnant of original Bektashi establishments connected with the Janissaries.

We turn now to the enumeration of the *tekkes*.

§ 1. *Asia Minor*

A.—Vilayet of Angora.

Haji Bektash (Pir-evi). The reputed founder of the sect, Haji Bektash, lies buried at the village bearing his name near Kirshehr in central Asia Minor.[2] Adjoin-

[1] [Its main purpose, according to my information, is to keep the dervishes out of the way of worldly temptations.—M. M. H.]

[2] Evliya says of the tomb (*Travels*, ii, 21): 'Haji Bektash died in Sultan Orkhán's reign, and was buried in his presence in the capital of Crimea, where a Tátár princess raised a monument over his tomb. This monument having fallen into decay Sheitán Murád, a Beg of Caesarea of Sultan Suleiman's time, restored and covered it with lead.'

ing the tomb is a convent (*tekke*), called Pir-evi ('House of the patron Saint') which forms the head-quarters of the Bektashi order and its adherents. It contains, besides the tomb of the founder, that of Balum Sultan, a very important Bektashi saint, reputed the founder of one of the four branches into which the sect is divided: his tomb is in the part of the convent devoted to the celibate (*mujerred*) dervishes. The *tekke* is further remarkable as containing a mosque with minaret, served by a *khoja* of the orthodox Nakshbandi order; this is an innovation of Mahmud II's time (1826), emphasizing the Sunni version of Haji Bektash, which represents him as a Nakshbandi sheikh.[1]

The *tekke* was formerly supported by the revenues of 362 villages, the inhabitants of which were affiliated to the Bektashi order. The number of these villages has been gradually reduced on various pretexts by the government to twenty-four.[2] The revenues of the *tekke*, estimated at £60,000, are divided between the rival heads [3] of the order, the Akhi Dede, or Dede Baba, and the Chelebi.

Of these the former resides in the convent of Haji Bektash and under him are eight other Babas, each having a separate 'residency' (*konak*), who preside over the various departments of work carried on in the *tekke*,

The 'capital of Crimea' is obviously a mistake for Kirshehr, possibly owing to the proximity of the 'Tátár princess'. At the present day the cauldrons in the kitchen of the convent, which are among the sights of the place, are said to have been given by 'the Tatar Khan,' who is curiously identified with Orkhan (Prof. White in *Contemp. Rev.*, Nov. 1913, p. 695).

[1] The *tekke* of Haji Bektash has been described by P. Lucas, *Voyage dans la Grèce*, i, 124; Levides, *Μοναὶ τῆς Καππαδοκίας*, p. 98; Cuinet, *Turquie d'Asie*, i, 341; Naumann, *Vom Goldnen Horn*, pp. 193 ff.; Prof. White, in *Contemp. Rev.*, Nov. 1913, pp. 690 ff. See also below, pp. 571–2.

[2] From Cuinet, *loc. cit.*, except the last figure, which he gives, no doubt correctly for his time, as 42.

[3] See above, pp. 161 ff.

directing the labours of the probationers under them. Their respective spheres are the buttery (*Kilerji Baba*), the bakery (*Ekmekji Baba*), the kitchen (*Ashji Baba*), the stables (*Ataji Baba*), the guest-house (*Mehmandar Baba*), the mausoleum of Balum Sultan (*Balum Evi*), and the vineyards (*Dede Bagh*, *Hanbagh*). The Chelebi lives outside the convent.

Other *tekkes* recorded in the same *vilayet* are the following:

BEYBAZAR (near). West of this town, on the Sakaria, is the *turbe* (mausoleum, of Emrem Yunuz Sultan, who is described by Lejean, evidently from an ignorant local informant, as 'un sultan koniarite qui y a été enseveli avec sa fille et ses deux fils'.[1] Emrem Yunuz is in reality claimed by the Bektashi as a saint belonging to their order. There seems to be no establishment here, though the tomb is held in reverence locally.[2]

CHORUM (near). Ten kilometres west of Chorum, R. Kiepert's map marks (from a native source) *Sidim Sultan*. Evliya mentions the place as, in his time, the site of 'a convent of bareheaded and barefooted Begtashi'.[3]

ANGORA (near). On the Husain Dagh, a mountain east of Angora, is the tomb of Husain Ghazi,[4] an Arab warrior-saint adopted by the Bektashi. In Evliya's time there was a convent of a hundred Bektashi dervishes here and a much-frequented yearly festival.[5] There is now only a mausoleum (*turbe*) kept up by the Bairami dervishes of Angora.[6]

YUZGAT (near). Here there is said to be a *tekke* at

[1] G. Lejean, in *Bull. Soc. Géog.* xvii (1869), p. 64.

[2] Anderson in *J.H.S.* xix, p. 70. For Emrem Yunuz ('Yunuz Imre') see Gibb (*Ottoman Poetry*, i, 164), who places him in the early fourteenth century: also above, p. 291.

[3] *Travels*, ii, 223.

[4] See below, pp. 711–2.

[5] Evliya, *Travels*, ii, 228; *cf.* Haji Khalfa, *Djihannuma*, tr. Armain, p. 703.

[6] Perrot and Guillaume, *Explor. de la Galatie*, i, 283.

a place called Mujur, which does not figure on our maps, but is distinct from the village of the same name near Kirshehr.

ALAJA (near). The Shamaspur *tekke*, containing a second grave of the Arab warrior Husain Ghazi, belongs to the order, but is now abandoned.[1]

KIRSHEHR. A *tekke* called Akhi-evren in this district was cited to me by a Bektashi dervish.[2] A saint of the same name, described as a companion in arms of Sultan Osman, is mentioned by Haji Khalfa as buried at Akshehr.[3] A third (?) saint, Ahiwiran or Ahi Baba of Caesarea, buried at Denizli, is said by Evliya to be the patron of Turkish tanners. A somewhat confused anecdote apparently derives his name from *Awren*, wild beast.[4] A *tekke* of Ak Elven (*sic*) exists at Angora. The name is evidently one of those which have suffered from popular etymology. The original form may be *Akhi* + *eren*. *Eren* means 'saint', while *Akhi* is the Arabic for

[1] For references see below, p. 711, n. 2. Perrot found two or three Bektashi dervishes there in 1861 (*Souvenirs d'un Voyage*, p. 418).

[2] A Khalveti saint *Akhi Mirim*, who died at Akshehr in 1409–10, is mentioned by Jacob (*Beiträge*, p. 80, n. 3): his tomb may well have changed hands, like many others, affiliation to the newcomers' order being axiomatic.

[3] *Hadji Ouren* in Armain's translation; *Hakhi Ouran* in Menasik-el-Haj, p. 12; *Akhi Oren* in Hammer-Hellert, *Hist. Emp. Ott.* i, 248 (*cf.* Huart, *Konia*, p. 112, where the tomb of Said Mahmud *Kheïrani* at Akshehr is described).

[4] *Travels*, I, ii, 206: '[Ahweran of Caesarea] was a great saint in the time of the Seljuk family. It is a famous story that, it having been hinted to the king that Ahibaba paid no duties, and the collectors having come to him in execution, they were all frightened away by a wild beast (Awren) starting from the middle of his shop, and which accompanied him to the king, who being equally frightened out of his wits, was very happy to allow him the permission asked, to bury the collectors killed. His tomb is a great establishment in the gardens of the town of Denizli . . . and all the Turkish tanners acknowledge this Ahúawren to be their patron.' In the last variation of the name there seems to be a play on *Ahua*, a fabulous beast like a syren (C. White, *Constantinople*, i, 174).

my brother, and has a special signification in connexion with the important society or 'Brotherhood', known already in the early fourteenth century to Ibn Batuta as a widespread social league among the Turkomans of Seljuk Asia Minor,[1] and later as a political combination of some importance.[2] Among the Bektashi the word *Akhi* is preserved in the title of the sheikh of the convent of Haji Bektash, and they had formerly at least a subdivision called the 'Brothers of Rum (*i.e.* Anatolia)'.[3] It may be that at some time in their history they amalgamated with, and eventually absorbed, the Turkoman 'Brotherhood'.

MUJUR (near Kirshehr). There is here a sacred stone guarded by a Bektashi dervish.[4]

PATUK SULTAN. This saint is buried in a village convent of the same (Kirshehr) district.

B.—Vilayet of Konia.

NEVSHEHR (near). Here there is said to be a Bektashi *tekke* containing the grave of a saint named Nusr-ed-din.

ADALIA. The order possesses a *tekke* here which seems to be of minor importance.

ELMALI had formerly a *tekke* containing the tomb of Haidar Baba; this is one of the convents destroyed in 1826. The town (or district?) is also known as the burial-place of Abdal Musa, a very celebrated saint.[5]

[1] Ibn Batuta, tr. Lee, pp. 68 ff.; tr. Sanguinetti, ii, 260 ff.

[2] Hammer-Hellert, *Hist. Emp. Ott.* i, 214. On the 'Brotherhood' see Karabashek in *Num. Zeit.* 1877, pp. 213 ff.

[3] *Akheean-i-Room* (Brown, *Dervishes*, p. 142): the corresponding subdivisions were the *Ghazis* (warriors), *Abdals* (asketes), and *Sisters* of Rum. In Seaman's *Orchan*, p. 108, *Achi=frater* is given as a grade in dervish communities. Dr. F. Babinger (in *Z. D. Morgenl. Ges.* lxxvi, 1922, p. 135, n. 4) accepts Jean Deny's suggestion that *akhi* is Turkish and means (1) *chevalerie*, (2) *confrérie religieuse*, and (3) *corps de métier*.

[4] Cholet, *Voyage*, p. 48.

[5] Jacob, *Bektaschijje*, p. 28, *cf. Beiträge*, pp. 14, 85. See below (Cairo).

There is a village called *Tekke* about twelve kilometres S. by W. of the town. Elmali is the centre of the district inhabited by the primitive Shia tribes known as *Takhtaji* ('wood-cutters'). But the lay members of the order seem here, as in Albania, to include some well-to-do landowners and town-dwellers.[1]

GILEVJI, three hours north of Elmali, has a *tekke* containing the grave of Kilerji Baba,[2] a disciple of Abdal Musa.

FINEKA, the port of Elmali, has a *tekke* with grave of Kiafi Baba. This may be identical with the *tekke* mentioned by Petersen and von Luschan as existing on the site of Limyra: there were two dervishes here in 1884.[3]

GUL HISAR, thirty kilometres south-east of Tefeni, in the northern part of this district, contains a *tekke* with the grave of Yaman Ali Baba.

C.—*Vilayet of Smyrna (Aidin).*

SMYRNA. There is now a small Bektashi *tekke* here containing the grave of Hasan Baba, in the quarter of Kiatib Oglu on the outskirts of the town. Bektashi gravestones are to be seen in the small cemetery surrounding the 'tomb of Polycarp' on the castle hill.[4]

TEIRE. Here there are two *tekkes*, one of which contains the grave of Khorasanli Ali Baba.

DAONAS. Here is buried one of the successors (*khalife*) of Haji Bektash, Sari Ismail Sultan.

DENIZLI seems to be, or to have been, an important Bektashi centre. There are said to be three *tekkes* in the district. Within a radius of two hours are the

[1] Von Luschan, *Lykien*, ii, 203. [2] *Cf.* above, p. 504.

[3] *Lykien*, ii, 204 n. I note also, still nearer Fineka, a village *Halaj*, the name of which suggests Bektashi associations. Manzur-el-Halaj is claimed by the Bektashi as the spiritual master of their great saint Fazil Yezdan (Degrand, *Haute Albanie*, p. 229) and a forerunner of the sect. [4] See above, p. 409, n. 4.

tombs of the saints Teslim Sultan and Dede Sultan. At Karagach [1] is that of Niazi [Baba].

YATAGAN (near Kara Euyuk, in the south of the *vilayet*). A rich and important *tekke* containing the grave of a saint 'Jatagundie' (Yatagan Dede?) was visited here by Paul Lucas in the early years of the eighteenth century.[2] It was one of the Bektashi foundations destroyed in 1826, but seems since to have revived to some extent. Yatagan Baba is reputed the master of Abdal Musa.[3] Another *tekke* at the same place contains the grave of Abdi Bey Sultan.

MENEMEN. The *tekke* here contains the grave of Bakri Baba.

MANISA. The Bektashi have no *tekke* at Manisa since the persecution of 1826, but claim that they were important there, and that the graves of Aine Ali and Niazi belong by right to their order.

TULUM BUNAR. The newly rebuilt *turbe* of Jafer Baba, a conspicuous object from the Kasaba line (near Tulum Bunar station) is claimed by the Bektashi as part of a convent dissolved in 1826.

D.—Vilayet of Brusa (Khudavendkiar).

BRUSA, though the Bektashi have now no footing there, seems formerly to have been a great stronghold

[1] Perhaps Kabagach, near Serai Keui, where Kiepert's map marks a *tekke*.

[2] *Voyage fait en 1714*, i, 171 f.: 'un Couvent, où l'on garde précieusement le corps d'un Mahometan nommé Jatagundie, qu'on dit avoir opéré de grandes merveilles dans tout le Païs. La Mosquée où il repose est très-belle & bien entretenuë; il y a dedans 60 chandeliers d'argent massif de dix pieds de haut, & un fort grand nombre de lampes d'or & d'argent. Deux cens Dervis sont emploiez au service de cette Mosquée; ils ont une Bibliothéque très-bien fournie . . . Comme cette Mosquée a des revenus immenses, il y a une fondation pour nourrir & loger tous les passans, & on y exerce l'hospitalité avec beaucoup de charité,' *cf.* below, p. 566.

[3] See above, *Elmali*, and below, *Cairo*.

of the order.[1] The following graves are those of (real or supposed) Bektashi saints :

Abdal Murad. To this was attached a *tekke*, reputed of Sultan Orkhan's foundation ;[2] the saint himself is said by the sixteenth-century historian Saad-ed-din to have been a holy man of this reign,[3] though his connexion with the Bektashi is not noticed, and is probably apocryphal. Evliya calls him a companion of Haji Bektash.[4] The *tekke* is mentioned in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries,[5] and the tomb of the saint still exists.[6]

Geyikli Baba is regarded as the contemporary and companion in arms of Abdal Murad, and, like him, a follower of Haji Bektash and one of Ahmed Yasevi's apostles.[7] The connexion with Haji Bektash and his cycle is a late development as in the case of Abdal Musa.[8]

Ramazan Baba is spoken of by Evliya as ' buried in a pleasant meadow at Brússa in a convent of Begtáshis,'[9] but is claimed for the Nakshbandi order by Assad Efendi.[10]

Sheikh Kili. The foundation of the *tekke* attached to this tomb was ascribed by Evliya to Orkhan.[11]

Akbeyik Sultan. This saint is assigned by the same author both to the Bektashi[12] and the Bairami.[13]

[1] *Cf.* Assad Efendi, *Destr. des Janissaires*, p. 302 ; the expulsion of the Bektashi from Brusa in 1826 was witnessed by Laborde (*Asie Mineure*, p. 24).

[2] Evliya, *Travels*, ii, 8, 24. Orkhan himself is buried at Brusa and is reputed to visit his tomb every Friday, play the drum, and use the beads on the tomb (Bussierre, *Lettres*, i, 154).

[3] In Seaman's *Orchan*, p. 119. [4] *Loc. cit.*

[5] Sestini, *Lettere Odeporiche*, i, 117 ; von Hammer, *Brussa*, p. 57 ; Cuinet, *Turquie d'Asie*, iv, 29. [6] Kandis, *Προῦσα*, p. 153.

[7] Evliya, *Travels*, ii, 21, 24. On Ahmed Yasevi and his introduction into the Bektashi cycle see above, pp. 403–5.

[8] *Cf.* Seaman's *Orchan*, p. 116.

[9] *Travels*, ii, 27 ; *cf.* von Hammer, *Brussa*, p. 56.

[10] *Destr. des Janissaires*, p. 300. [11] Evliya, *Travels*, ii, 8.

[12] *Ibid.* ii, 8.

[13] *Ibid.* ii, 26. It should be noted that Haji Bairam himself is claimed by the Bektashi at the present day.

Other Bektashi *tekkes* exist, or are known to have existed, at the following places in the Brusa *vilayet*.

Sidi Ghazi, a village south of Eskishehr. The saint buried in the *tekke*, who has given his name to the village, is a celebrated warrior of the Arab period; his grave was discovered already in Seljuk times, and the foundation came into the hands of the Bektashi at least as early as the sixteenth century.[1] The *tekke* still exists, though the foundation is much decayed.[2] Near, and west of it, is the *tekke* of Suja-ed-din, who is mentioned by Jacob as an important Bektashi saint.[3] This *tekke* seems also to be kept up. Those of Melek Baba and Urian Baba in the same district are now dissolved.

Besh Karish (near Altin Tash and the railway station, Ihsanieh). Here is buried Resul Ali Sultan or Resul Baba, a *khalife* of Haji Bektash.[4]

Rejeb (three hours from Ushak). Here is buried the *khalife* Kolu Achik Hajim Sultan.[5] The *tekke* is now disused and administered by a steward (*muteveli*), but seems to be of some local importance.

Balukisr. Another *khalife*, Said Jemal Sultan, is buried in this district.[6] I have no information as to the *tekke*.

The *vilayet* of Brusa seems to have been a stronghold of the Bektashi in the fifties of the last century.[7]

Dardanelles.[8] Though no *tekke* exists here to-day,

[1] See Browne, *J. R. Asiat. Soc.*, 1907, p. 568, where a Hurufi MS. is said to have been copied here in 1545–6; and *cf.* Menavino, *Cose Turchesche* [1548], p. 60.

[2] For details and bibliography of this *tekke* see below, pp. 705–10.

[3] *Bektaschijje*, p. 28.

[4] Jacob, *Bektaschijje*, p. 27.

[5] *Ibid.*

[6] *Ibid.* The site may be looked for at Tekke Keui near Kebsud, near which is a village *Bektashler*.

[7] C. MacFarlane, *Turkey and its Destiny*, i, 501.

[8] Strictly speaking, the town of the Dardanelles is not in the Brusa province, but forms the capital of an independent sub-prefecture (*sanjak*).

it was probably a Bektashi centre before 1826, on account of the number of Janissaries quartered there. A ruined and deserted *tekke* exists outside the village of Seraijik, in the valley of the Rhodius. It bears the name of the saint interred in it (*Inje* or *Injir Baba*) and is still visited as a pilgrimage.[1]

Le Chevalier in the early years of the present century describes a *tekke*, apparently Bektashi, possibly identical with the above.[2]

E.—Vilayet of Kastamuni.

KALEJIK (near). Evliya describes in this district the pilgrimage of Koji Baba, one of the disciples of Haji Bektash, who was buried in a convent bearing his name. 'There is no other building but the convent; the tomb is adorned with lamps and candelabras. His [*i.e.* the saint's] banner, drum, habit, and carpet are all preserved, as though he were himself present. The Turcomans have great faith in this saint.'[3]

CHANGRI (near). At the village of Airak, north of the Kizil Irmak river, in this district, Evliya found a large and hospitable convent, containing a hundred dervishes and the tomb of Mohammed Shah Dede; this saint 'came with Haji Begtash from Khorassan to the court of Bayazid I'.[4]

F.—Vilayet of Sivas.

SIVAS. In the town is a recent *tekke*, called Maksumler ('the infants'),[5] founded by a certain Khalil Pasha,

[1] From Mr. R. Grech, of the Dardanelles.

[2] *Propontide*, p. 14: 'Derrière la ville s'étend une large plaine au milieu de laquelle on trouve un Teké ou couvent de derviches, entouré de vignes et de jardins délicieux. Ces solitaires donnent au pays qui les avoisine, l'exemple de l'hospitalité la plus affectueuse: ils offrent leurs plus beaux fruits et leurs cellules au voyageur fatigué, et de la meilleur foi du monde lui font admirer un cerceuil de quarante pieds, qui contient les reliques du géant qui les a fondés.'

[3] *Travels*, ii, 236.

[4] *Ibid.* ii, 236.

[5] Or Maksum Pak (Pers. *pâk* = 'pure').

afterwards governor of Beyrut. About fifty years ago, a dervish is said to have discovered by revelation the graves of two infants (*maksum*), who were identified with Ali Eftar, son of the fifth Imam (Mohammed Bakir), and Sali, son of the seventh (Musa Kiazim); these infants are regarded as martyrs.[1] The infant son of Khalil Pasha is also buried in the *tekke*.

AMASIA. Here is a *tekke* containing the grave of Piri Baba.

DIVRIJI (near). Three hours from Divriji is a recent *tekke* founded by a learned Bektashi sheikh named Gani Baba and called Andahar Tekkesi.[2]

Three important *tekkes* in this (strongly Shia) *vilayet* are mentioned by Evliya in the seventeenth century, of which the first two certainly exist. These are:

MARSOVAN, with tomb of Piri Dede, a companion of Haji Bektash. In Evliya's time there were 200 dervishes there, and the convent was supported by the revenues of 366 villages.[3] There seems lately to have been a kind of 'revival' in which immigrants from Transcaucasia (Kars district) have played an important part.

OSMANJIK, with tomb of Koyun Baba, who came with Haji Bektash from Khorasan. All the inhabitants of the town were in Evliya's time affiliated to the Bektashi.[4] The foundation seems now to have passed into other hands, and the saint to be known as 'Pambuk Baba'.[5]

BARUGUNDE (near Shabin Kara Hisar). This *tekke* contained the tomb of Behlul of Samarkand and those of the Choban family.[6] It is probably the 'Chobanli Tekke' marked on R. Kiepert's map due south of Shabin

[1] This is probably the pilgrimage of the Kizibash Kurds at Sivas mentioned by Molyneux-Seel as the 'tomb of Hasan' (see above, p. 150).

[2] Perhaps from *Anzaghar*, marked south of Divriji in R. Kiepert's map.

[3] *Travels*, ii, 215; *cf.* above, pp. 38–9.

[4] *Ibid.* ii, 96: *cf.* Jacob, *Bektaschijje*, p. 28, and Haji Khalfa, tr. Armain, ii, 681.

[5] See above, pp. 95–6.

[6] Evliya, *Travels*, ii, 205.

Kara Hisar, on the road to Erzinjian. Evliya also makes brief mention of a Bektashi *tekke* of Mohammed Shah near Echmiadzin.[1]

A list, however incomplete, of Anatolian centres in which there is now no Bektashi establishment, may be of service to future inquirers. The following places have been cited to me as such by Bektashi informants: Adana, Aintab, Angora, Beyshehr, Brusa, Caesarea, Dardanelles, Isbarta, Karaman, Konia, Manisa, Marash[2] Melasso, Mersina, Nazli, Pyrgi, Tarsus, Trebizond. The absence of Bektashi at Angora is accounted for by the local predominance of the Bairami order, and at Konia, Karaman,[3] and Manisa by the position held there by the Mevlevi. Adana,[4] Aidin, Caesarea,[5] and Pyrgi[6] are notoriously 'black' Sunni towns.

SHAMAKH. The farthest extension of Bektashism eastwards seems to be marked by the important *tekke* visited by Evliya at Shamakh, near Baku. This contained the tomb of Pir Merizat and was supported by the revenues of 300 villages, the inhabitants of which were mostly affiliated to the order.[7]

The Kurds of the Dersim recognize Haji Bektash, and one Bektashi *tekke* is said to exist in Kurdistan.[8]

[1] *Ibid.* ii, 125.

[2] A *tekke* is said to have existed there till 1826.

[3] Davis (*Asiatic Turkey*, p. 295) speaks of the Valideh *Tekke* here as Bektashi: it is of course Mevlevi.

[4] *Cf.* Niebuhr, *Reisebeschreibung*, iii, 118. But I have heard of a learned Bektashi *baba* resident in this *vilayet* at Jebel-Bereket (Yarput), which perhaps implies the existence of propaganda among the local Turkoman tribes.

[5] Assad Efendi, *Destr. des Janissaires*, pp. 314, 317; *cf.* (for Caesarea) Skene, *Anadol*, p. 159.

[6] Assad Efendi, *loc. cit.*; Amasia had in 1826 the same reputation, but has now a Bektashi *tekke*, as has Teire (for which see Schlechta-Wssehrd, *Denk. Wien. Akad., P.-H. Cl.* viii, 1857, i, 47).

[7] *Travels*, ii, 160.

[8] Taylor seems to have found a *tekke* at Arabkir in 1860 (*J.R.G.S.*, 1868, xxxviii, 312).

§ 2. *Mesopotamia*

In Mesopotamia there are Bektashi *tekkes* in the neighbourhood of the Shia holy-places: these are rather rest-houses for Bektashi pilgrims than regular *tekkes*. They are at BAGDAD (with tomb of Gulgul Baba),[1] KAZIMAIN (a suburb of Bagdad sacred for Shias as containing the tombs of the Imams Musa and Jafer Sadik), KERBELA, NEJEF, and SAMARA. There seem to be no Bektashi *tekkes* in Syria (certainly not at Damascus or Jerusalem), where the population seems to be little in sympathy with dervishes in general.

§ 3. *Egypt*

CAIRO. The Bektashi convent on the Mokattam above the citadel is the only establishment of the order in Egypt. A great cave in the precincts of the convent serves as *turbe* or mausoleum; the chief saint buried in it (reputed the founder of the convent) is named Kaigusuz[2] Sultan. He was a pupil of Abdal Musa[3] and brought the Bektashi faith to Egypt. He is said to have been a prince by birth, and bore in the world the name of Sultanzade Ghaibi. His reputation is great among the Bektashi, who regard him as the founder of the fourth branch of the order. It seems unlikely that the grave of Kaigusuz is authentic or that the convent is of great antiquity.[4] Pococke and Perry, who examined this slope of the Mokattam pretty carefully in the first

[1] Niebuhr, *Voyage en Arabie*, ii, 242, 244.

[2] Kaigusuz is said to be a word used by the Bektashi for *pilaf*. Vaujany, *Caire*, pp. 284 f., translates the name as 'Papa Sans-Souci'. Mr. W. S. Edmonds was told at the *tekke* that the word meant *devil-may-care*.

[3] See above, *s.v. Elmali*, p. 506.

[4] This view is borne out by the history of the tomb and *tekke* given to Mr. Edmonds by the dervishes in 1917. The original *tekke*, they said, was founded A.H. 806 (A.D. 1403–4) by Kaigusuz Sultan at Kasr-el-Aini, which is on the east bank of the Nile opposite Roda Island and about one and a half miles south of Cairo. In A.H. 844 (A.D. 1440–1) Kaigusuz Sultan died. The Bektashis had been friendly

half of the seventeenth century, notice 'grottoes' but no *tekke*; the latter says expressly that the grottoes were uninhabited.[1] The foundation may thus be connected with the spread of Bektashism in the later years of the eighteenth century and not improbably with the Albanian mercenaries who served at this time in Egypt, possibly with Mohammed Ali himself, who is said by some Bektashi to have been a member of their sect. The same is said of Omer Vrioni, of Berat, who seems to have done some soldiering in Egypt. The following description of the Cairo establishment of the Bektashi seems the best available:

'The tekîya projects from the hill, and may be distinguished from afar by a bank of verdant foliage with which it is fronted. Ascending a long flight of steps and passing through a small garden, you enter the tekîya, which has lately been rebuilt for the dervishes by the Khedive Ismail[2] and some of the princesses.[3] The hall for the devotions of the members, the rooms of the shêkh, and the sumptuous kitchen may be inspected. . . . The small open court of the tekîya leads into an ancient quarry . . . penetrating the rock for more than 200 feet. A pathway of matting enclosed by a wooden railing leads to the innermost recess, where lies buried the Shêkh Abdallah el-Maghâwrî, *i.e.* of the Grotto or Cave (*Maghâra*). His original name was

with the Jelali dervishes, who then occupied the present *tekke*, and therefore Kaigusuz Sultan and succeeding *dedes* were buried in the present *tekke*. In A. H. 1212 (A. D. 1797–8) the Jelalis left the present *tekke*; in A. H. 1242 (A. D. 1826–7) [the year of Mahmud II's destruction of the Janissaries and Bektashi *tekkes*.—F. W. H.] the Kasr-el-Aini *tekke* was given to the Kadri dervishes who now have it, and in A. H. 1269 (A. D. 1852–3) the Egyptian government for the first time appointed a *dede* to the present *tekke* of Kaigusuz Sultan.

[1] *View of the Levant*, p. 234.

[2] 1863–79.

[3] *Cf.* Baedeker, *Egypt* (1898), p. 53: 'A handsomely gilt coffin here is said to contain the remains of a female relative of the Khedive'—evidently buried here as a benefactress of the *tekke*.

Kêghûsûz, and he was a native of Adalia. Sent as deputy to Egypt to propagate the doctrines of the fraternity, he settled there and took the name of Abdallah.'[1]

At the present day the *tekke* of Kaigusuz at Cairo appears to be the only Bektashi establishment in Egypt or indeed in North Africa. The sect may owe its persistence here to the floating Albanian population; the present abbot is a Tosk Albanian.

The sect formerly held also the *tekke* of Kasr-el-Aini in Old Cairo, which is claimed by Assad Efendi as an original foundation of the Nakshbandi.[2] The *tekke* is first mentioned by Pococke, who, however, does not state to which order it belonged.[3] Wilkinson says it was founded by the Bektashi and belonged to them till transferred to the Kadri by Ibrahim Pasha.[4] This, it will be seen, is substantially the history supplied to Mr. Edmonds by the present dervishes.[5]

§ 4. *Constantinople*

The following list of Bektashi *tekkes* existing at the capital was given me at the *tekke* of Shehidler above Rumeli Hisar.[6]

A.—European side.

1. Yedi Kule (Kazli Cheshme), Sheikh Abdullah.
2. Top Kapu, Sheikh Abdullah.

[1] Murray's *Eygpt* (1900), p. 29. Vaujany (*Caire*, pp. 284 f.) says the cave has been excavated in the rock and measures 75 × 75 metres; the convent was formerly a poor construction of crude brick, but was rebuilt in 1872. A view from the outside is figured by Migeon, *Caire*, p. 82. Mr. Edmonds adds that the tomb is at the very end of the cave, being approached by about twenty yards of causeway along which sick people roll themselves for cure.

[2] *Destr. des Janissaires*, p. 300. [3] *Descr. of the East*, i, 29.

[4] *Modern Egypt*, i, 287: *cf.* Browne in *J. R. Asiat. Soc.* 1907, 573, from which the *tekke* appears to have been Bektashi as late as 1808.

[5] Above, p. 514, n. 4.

[6] Similar lists are given by Tschudi in Jacob, *Bektaschijje*, pp. 51 ff., and Depont and Coppolani, *Confréries Musulmanes*, pp. 530–1.

3. KARIADIN (above Eyyub), Sheikh Hafiz Baba.
4. SUDLIJA, Sheikh Husain Baba.
5. KARAGACH (near Kiaghit Khane), Sheikh Munir Baba.
6. RUMELI HISAR (Shehidler).

Nos. 1 and 2 are for celibates. The sheikhs of 6 are of Anatolian descent, and the office is hereditary.

B.—Asiatic side.

7. CHAMLIJA.
8. MERDIVEN KEUI. This important *tekke* is said by the Bektashi to contain the grave of a very ancient warrior-saint, Shahkuli, who 'fought against Constantine' and was here buried. The name of the founder of the *tekke* was given me as Mehemet Ali Baba, and that of the present sheikh as Haji Ahmed Baba. The *tekke* is also said to contain the grave of Azbi Chaush, who conducted Misri Efendi to exile and was converted by him on the way.[1]

At the suppression of the Order in 1826, there were fourteen convents in the capital,[2] of which nine were demolished.[3] These were at (1) Yedi Kule, (2) Eyyub, (3) Sudlija, (4) Karagach, (5) Shehidlik,[4] (6) Chamlija, (7) Merdiven Keui, (8) Eukuz Liman,[5] and (9) Skutari.[6]

It thus appears that since 1826 the Bektashi have

[1] Brown, *Dervishes*, p. 164; for Misri Efendi, a seventeenth-century poet and heresiarch with a leaning towards Bektashi doctrines, see Cantimir, *Hist. Emp. Oth.* ii, 218, 228 ff.; Hammer-Hellert, *Hist. Emp Ott.* xii, 45; and Gibb, *Ottoman Poetry*, iii, 312.

[2] Rosen, *Geschichte der Türkei*, i, 19.

[3] Assad Efendi, *Destr. des Janissaires*, p. 316.

[4] The destruction of this *tekke* is mentioned by C. MacFarlane, *Turkey and its Destiny*, i, 504. It is cited as belonging to the Melamiyun by J. P. Brown (*Dervishes*, p. 175).

[5] Mentioned also by Evliya, *Travels*, I, ii, 81; Hammer, *Constantinopolis*, ii, 322.

[6] Probably the *tekke* containing the tomb of Karaja Ahmed (on whom see above, pp. 403 ff.), of which the *turbe* survives.

managed to reinstate themselves in seven out of the nine proscribed *tekkes*, and to add one (Top Kapu) to the number of their Constantinople establishments.[1]

Of *tekkes* formerly occupied by the Bektashi in the Constantinople district we can cite :

Rumeli Hisar. Durmish Dede, a sailors' saint who died in the reign of Ahmed I, was buried on the point of Rumeli Hisar.[2] This *tekke* is now in the hands of the Khalveti.

Istranja, in the hills north-east of Constantinople.[3]

§ 5. *Turkey in Europe.*

In this country, and particularly in the neighbourhood of Adrianople, the Bektashi had many *tekkes*, most of which were destroyed in the persecution of 1826.

A.—Gallipoli Peninsula.[4]

There are still two *tekkes* here at

Kilij Bahr (opposite the town of Dardanelles) and Ak Bashi (Sestos). This latter is a simple cell, tenanted by one dervish,[5] who acts as guardian to the tomb of Ghazi Fazil Beg, one of the companions of Suleiman Pasha in his first invasion of Europe.[6]

B.—District of Adrianople.

This district has been in its day a great stronghold of Bektashism. At Adrianople itself, a disreputable *tekke* on the hill called Khidrlik was suppressed already in

[1] There were three Bektashi *tekkes* about 1850 (Brown, *Dervishes*, pp. 530 f.).

[2] Evliya, *Travels*, I, ii, 27, 68, 70 : ' the Dervíshes Begtáshi superintend it [the pilgrimage] with their drums and lamps ' ; *cf.* Hammer-Hellert, *Hist. Emp. Ott.* xviii, 85.

[3] *Ibid.*, I, ii, 88 : ' there is a convent of Begtáshís ; they hunt for the Emperor harts, roes, and deer, of which they make hams.'

[4] This district, now isolated, was probably connected with Adrianople by a chain of *tekkes* down to 1826. The maps mark many *tekkes* between the two points, most of which, I am informed, are now farms.

[5] As in E. D. Clarke's time (*Travels*, iii, 86).

[6] *Cf.* Saad-ed-din, in Seaman's *Orchan*, p. 80.

1641,[1] and in 1826 no less than sixteen convents in the town and district were confiscated. The country round Adrianople, especially to the west of the city, into which district a numerous Turkish nomad population has been imported from Asia at various dates,[2] preserves the names of many destroyed *tekkes* which have in recent years developed into farms or villages.

East of Adrianople two such *tekkes* have left traditions behind them. These are :

Eski Baba, on the main road to Constantinople. The saint here buried was identified with Sari Saltik, a famous Bektashi saint. The *turbe* is said to be an ancient church of S. Nicolas; it is still frequented by Christians as well as Mohammedans.[3]

Bunar Hisar, some miles east of Kirk Kilise. The *tekke* seems to have been confiscated in 1826, but the grave of the saint, Binbiroglu Ahmed Baba, was still later a pilgrimage for Turks. The *tekke* is now a farm.[4]

South of Adrianople, Slade,[5] in 1830, notes the sites of several Bektashi *tekkes* ruined during the attempted suppression of the order by Sultan Mahmud II.

At Ferejik, on the hill above the village, he found

[1] Jacob, *Beiträge*, p. 16; *cf.* Rycaut, *Ottoman Empire*, p. 69. Covel (*Diaries*, p. 248) says there was formerly a Greek church of S. George at this point.

[2] Hammer-Hellert, *Hist. Emp. Ott.* i, 330 (Turks from Menemen sent to Philippopolis district); *cf.* Baker, *Turkey in Europe*, p. 382.

[3] See below, pp. 578–9: also above, pp. 431–2.

[4] See below, p. 579. This is the *tekke* which is said formerly to have contained an inscription in 'Ancient Syrian' letters 'like nails', probably the inscribed pillar set up by Darius at the sources of the Tearus (Jochmus, *J.R.G.S.*, xxiv (1854), p. 44; see E. Unger, *Jahrbuch, Arch. Anz.* 1915, pp. 3 ff.). I believe this pillar may have been 'adopted' by the Bektashi, like the sacred stone at Tekke Keui (see *Macedonia* below), as an additional attraction to the *tekke* of Bunar Hisar. Its cuneiform writing was probably recognized as 'Ancient Syrian' by some dervish who had visited the Shia sanctuaries in Mesopotamia where cuneiform monuments are common.

[5] *Travels*, p. 470.

the ruins of a *tekke* and a tomb-chamber containing the graves of five dervishes. The chief of these, he was informed, was Ibrahim Baba of the Bektashi order. Five miles farther on was the tomb of another Bektashi saint, Nefes Baba, who was said to have come from Gallipoli with the first Turkish conquerors, and to have founded a *tekke* here. Nefes Baba was the son of the King of Fez.[1] Some miles farther on was a third Bektashi *tekke*, containing the tomb of a certain Rustem Baba, which Slade did not visit.[2]

KESHAN. There is here a small *tekke* in the town itself, tenanted by a *baba* and servitors (Albanians).

DOMUZ DERE (near Keshan). This *tekke* is tenanted by an abbot and three or four dervishes. Its history is particularly interesting in relation to the question of Bektashi usurpations. According to local tradition, borne out, as we shall see, by very solid evidence, the *tekke* was originally a small Greek monastery of S. George. The Bektashi are said to have gained a footing there during or after an epidemic of plague, which depopulated the neighbouring (Christian) village of Chiltik. This is said to have happened 'about sixty years ago', very possibly at the time of the last great outbreak of plague in European Turkey, which took place in 1836–9,[3] almost within living memory.

At the present time the feast-day of S. George is still celebrated at Domuz Dere by a *panegyris* of a social character, which is frequented both by Turks and Greeks; the representatives of the two religions do not mix together more than is necessary. The original church

[1] This is too evidently an inference from his name (*nefes* = 'Breath' and metaph. 'Spirit'). For a good account of Turkish *Nefes ogli* [*sic*] see Hottinger, *Hist. Orient.* pp. 478–9, basing on Georgewicz, *Epitome.*

[2] A probable Bektashi *tekke* on the outskirts of Ainos may be recognized in the building called *Γunuz Baba Τekkesi* (Lambakis in *Δελτίον Χριστ. Ἀρχαιολ. Ἑταιρείας, Η'*, 28). *Cf.* below, p. 581.

[3] Edmund Spencer, *Travels*, ii, 378 ff.

of S. George has been divided by the dervishes into several compartments, including living-rooms and a tomb-chamber for the abbots' graves; the compartment including the original 'sanctuary' still preserves the upper part of the screen (*templon*), and on its north wall is an ancient *eikon* of S. George flanked by lighted lamps. This has been actually seen by my informant.

So recent and so well-documented[1] a case of Bektashi usurpation as this must be regarded as a warning against excess of scepticism in appreciating legends current elsewhere, and resting solely on tradition, of similar occurrences. What happened at Domuz Dere probably happened *mutatis mutandis* at Eski Baba,[2] and may have happened at many other 'ambiguous' sanctuaries; the story of the Christian *eikon* jealously guarded at the *tekke* of Rini,[3] if it be a fable, is at least a fable not without historical parallels. At the same time tradition must not be accepted blindly. We know for a fact that many Christian churches have been transformed into mosques by the Turks. Yet the 'traditions' as to the Christian past of mosques are often demonstrably false; notoriously so in the case of the mosque of Isa Bey or 'Church of S. John' at Ephesus.

West of Adrianople, as we have said, Bektashi establishments were thickly planted, but most were destroyed in 1826.

At KUSH KAVAK, at the fork of the main road leading from Adrianople to Kirjali and Gumuljina, a *tekke* is said by the Bektashi still to exist. It may be that of Ohad Baba, marked on the War Office map just north of the village.

DIMETOKA. *Tekkes* of Kizil Deli Sultan in this dis-

[1] After my husband's death I learned that his plausible informant had been detected supplying false information to a British War Department. Had my husband known this, he might have been more sceptical of his statements on Domuz Dere.—M.M.H.

[2] Above, p. 519. [3] See below, p. 766, n. 4.

trict are mentioned by Assad Efendi [1] as among those demolished in 1826. The name of the saint is shown on our maps in the district due west of Dimetoka, which adjoins the Kirjali district transferred by the treaty of Bucharest to Bulgaria.

§ 6. *Bulgaria*

KIRJALI, the district adjoining that of Adrianople on the west and lately ceded to Bulgaria, contains the grave and *tekke* of the Bektashi saint Said Ali Sultan. The *tekke* was destroyed by the Bulgars in the last war, the *turbe* (mausoleum) being spared.

HASKOVO, between Philippopolis and the frontier, half a day north of Kirjali, possesses (or possessed) a *tekke* with the grave of Mustafa Baba.[2] It is, as usual, at some distance from the town.

RAZGRAD (near). There was also till recently an isolated *tekke* containing the grave of Hasan Demir Baba Pehlivan, who lived '400 years ago' and performed a number of miracles. The *tekke* was founded early in the nineteenth century by Hasan Pehlivan Baba, Pasha of Rustchuk.[3] A good description of it, the legend

[1] *Destr. des Janissaires*, p. 325 : special instructions regarding these *tekkes* are given in the text of the firman printed by the same author at pp. 325 ff. : 'Vous vous rendrez d'abord à Adrianople ; là, de concert avec Mohammed-Assad-Pacha, gouverneur de Tcharmen, vous expulserez des tékiés de Kizil-Déli-Sultan les bektachis qui s'y trouvent . . . Notre intention est de destiner au casernement des corps de soldats de Mahomet qui pourront par suite être formés dans ces contrées les bâtiments spacieux et commodes de quelques-uns de ces établissements, et de transformer les grandes salles en mosquées.' For Kizil Deli Sultan see also Brown, *Dervishes*, p. 325 ; Jacob, *Bektaschijje*, p. 28.

[2] The *tekke* seems to be mentioned by Quiclet (*Voyages*, p. 149). An Albanian Bektashi informant assures me that no Bektashi establishment now exists here, but is contradicted by Midhat Bey Frasheri who, though not himself an adherent of the order, comes of a Bektashi family and was resident in Bulgaria at the time of my inquiries.

[3] Jireček, *Bulgarien*, p. 411.

of the buried hero, and a block of the *tekke* and its surroundings are given by Kanitz.[1]

RUSTCHUK now has a *tekke* built about 1920 by Baba Kamber, formerly abbot of Kichok in Albania.[2]

A *tekke* of Mustafa Baba, between Rustchuk and Silistria, is mentioned by Jacob.[3]

Elsewhere in Bulgaria there is said to be a Bektashi community at Selvi in the district of Tirnovo, but my informant [4] does not know whether they possess a *tekke*. An Albanian dervish at Melchan [5] told me there was formerly a *tekke* at Tirnovo itself, but it had been destroyed already before the Balkan War.

§ 7. *Rumania*

Three *tekkes* of the Bektashi are mentioned within the present frontiers of Rumania :

At BABA DAGH was a Bektashi convent containing one of the graves of Sari Saltik.[6]

At KILGRA (Kaliakra) on the Black Sea, Evliya visited a *tekke* of Bektashi containing another reputed grave of the same saint.[7] I am informed that the site is now completely deserted, though it remains a pilgrimage for Moslems and Christians alike.

BALCHIK (near). Here was formerly a Bektashi *tekke* of great importance, one of the largest in Rumeli. The saint there buried was called Hafiz Khalil Baba, or Akyazili Baba, and was by Christians identified with S. Athanasius.[8]

§ 8. *Serbia*

In ' new Serbia ', *i.e.* Serbian Macedonia, *tekkes* are said to exist, or to have existed, at the following places ;

[1] *Op. cit.* iii, 298 ff. (pp. 535 f. in the French translation ; see above, p. 296) ; *cf.* Niebuhr, *Reisebeschreibung*, iii, 174.

[2] M. M. H. from several Albanians in 1923 ; see below, p. 544.

[3] *Beiträge*, p. 17. [4] Midhat Bey Frasheri. [5] See below, p. 546.

[6] Evliya, *Travels*, ii, 72 ; *cf.* below, pp. 575 f.

[7] See above, pp. 429–31. [8] See above, pp. 90–2.

many of them seem to have been destroyed during and after the Balkan war :

MONASTIR. Here there is a small *tekke* in the town, with the grave of Husain Baba, the founder, dated 1872–3 ; this *tekke* was unharmed in 1914. It is *mutehhil.*

In the neighbourhood [1] there were two *tekkes.*

At KISHOVA was a *tekke* founded by Khidr Babar, said to be old, and tenanted formerly by six or seven dervishes. It was *mutehhil.* On the death of the last *baba* the *tekke* was shut up and the Serbs arranged a church of S. Nicolas in it, saying it had formerly been such.

At KANADLAR still exists a large *tekke* said to have been founded about 200 years ago by Dikmen Baba, whom Kurd Baba succeeded.

USKUB. Here there were, before the war, two Bektashi *tekkes* named after Mustafa Baba and Suleiman Baba, the latter a recent establishment apparently extinct in 1923. There was then no abbot at Mustafa Baba's, only a married dervish.

Other *tekkes* in this district are, or were, at :

KALKANDELEN. Here still exists a large and important *tekke* containing the supposed grave of Sersem Ali. This *tekke* was founded by Riza Pasha (d. 1822), at the instance of Muharrebe Baba, who discovered, by revelation, the tomb of Sersem Ali.[2] The *tekke* stands within a rectangle of high walls, each pierced by a handsome gateway, just outside the town. The buildings include lodgings for the dervishes, two oratories (*meidan*), the tombs of Sersem Ali, Muharrebe Baba, Riza Pasha, and others, a large open *mesjid* standing on columns, guest-rooms, kitchens, and farm buildings. All these seem to be of the date of the foundation ; they are for the most

[1] Part of this section is by M.M.H. and based on information collected locally in 1923.

[2] See below, p. 592, and, for Sersem Ali, Jacob, *Bektaschijje*, p. 28.

part picturesque and rather elaborate wooden buildings with deep porticoes. Pleasant fruit and flower-gardens are included in the precinct.

At TEKKE KEUI, near the station of Alexandrovo, between Kumanovo and Uskub, is a small *tekke* with the grave of Karaja Ahmed. The cult has been discussed by Evans ;[1] it now seems likely that this site will be transferred to Christianity.[2]

There were also *tekkes* at

ISHTIP and KUPRULU.

STRUMIJA[3] (Strumnitza, in 'New Serbia'). In this district there was, before the Balkan war, a Bektashi *tekke* containing the grave of a saint Ismail Baba, and a hot spring attributed to the agency of the saint's foot. This *tekke* is now destroyed.[4]

In the Albanian district of Serbian Macedonia there were three *tekkes*.

At JAKOVA still exists a new *tekke* built by the present abbot, Hafiz Baba.

The IPEK *tekke* no longer survives.

The PRIZREND *tekke*,[5] built by the learned Haji Adem Baba, who now lives privately in Jakova, has been converted into a Serbian orphanage.

A small *tekke* exists at Dibra.

§ 9. *Greece*[6]

A.—Macedonia.

(*a*) SALONICA. A *tekke* formerly existing on the western outskirts of the town was destroyed during the Balkan war.

[1] In *J.H.S.* xxi, 202 ff. ; fully above, pp. 274 ff. [2] Below, p. 582.

[3] This *tekke* was in Bulgaria till after the European war.

[4] From an Albanian dervish at Melchan (below, p. 546), who formerly resided at Strumija.

[5] This *tekke* is mentioned by Brailsford, *Macedonia*, p. 247, and Jaray, *L'Albanie Inconnue*, p. 86. In his *Au jeune Royaume d'Albanie*, pp. 96–109, Jaray describes the *tekkes* of Ipek, Jakova, and Prizrend.

[6] This section describes the Bektashi position as it was in Greece

(*b*) KASTORIA. The *tekke* is situated at the entrance to the town on the Florina road. Small, insignificant, and in 1915 tenanted only by an abbot, who was gone in 1921,[1] it is said to be ancient and formerly important. It suffered during the persecution of 1826. The chief saint buried here, Kasim Baba,[2] is supposed to have lived at the time of the Turkish conquest, and enjoys considerable local fame as a posthumous miracle-worker. He is said during his lifetime to have converted many Christians by the somewhat crude method of hurling from the hill on the landward side of the isthmus of Kastoria a huge rock, which crashed into a church full of worshippers.

Of a second *tekke*, occupied within living memory, at Toplitza (near the barracks) only the *turbe* and grave of Sanjakdar Ali Baba remain. The Bektashi also lay claim to the grave of Aidin Baba, in a humble *turbe* on the outskirts of the gipsy quarter.

(*c*) In the district of Anaselitza, west of the market-town of Lapsista, the Bektashi have a considerable following. The Moslem element in the population is here supposed to have been converted in recent times, 'a hundred and fifty years ago' being the usual estimate.[3] This is borne out by the fact that the Moslems in question (called Vallahadhes) [4] speak Greek, and in some villages have deserted churches [5] (not converted into mosques), to which they show considerable respect. The Bektashi *tekkes* serving this district are at Vod-

until the Treaty of Lausanne (1923) came into operation in 1924 and removed the Moslems to Asia Minor.

[1] M.M.H.

[2] Kuch in Albania also claims his real grave; *cf.* below, p. 547. He left his hand at Elbassan. M.M.H.

[3] [Some certainly converted much earlier, for certain of their cemeteries contain tombstones dated as much as 350 years ago. Possibly there was a big movement at the traditional date.—M.M.H.]

[4] For the Vallahadhes see the references given above, p. 8, n. 1.

[5] For these see above, p. 8, n. 1 *ad fin.*

horina, two and a half hours west of Lapsista, and at Odra, high up on the slopes of the Pindus range. Both *tekkes* are connected with the same saint, Emineh Baba, who seems to be historical. He is said to have been executed at Monastir in A.H. 1007 (1598–9) for professing the unorthodox opinions of Manzur-el-Halaj, who is claimed by the Bektashi as an early preacher of their doctrines and a precursor of their order.[1] Emineh appeared to his sister on the night of his execution at her home in Lapsista; she was preparing a meal to which guests were invited. He helped his sister in her preparations, and afterwards sat down to table. Some of the guests, noticing that he took nothing, pressed him to eat, which he refused to do, on the ground that he was fasting. Finally, however, yielding to their importunity, he ate, with the words 'If you had not made me eat, I should have visited you every evening.' He then disappeared.[2]

VODHORINA. The *tekke* here is an ordinary house in the village, the *turbes* of former abbots being as usual some little distance away and not architecturally remarkable. It is said to have suffered in 1826 and is now occupied by an abbot only, who is from the district and claims direct descent from Emineh Baba,[3] the *tekke* being *mutehhil.* A room of the house itself contains a plain commemorative cenotaph of Emineh Baba, his habit (*khirka*), and other relics; this room is used by the sick for incubation. Other cenotaphs of the saint

[1] He lived in the early part of the fourth century of the Hejira and was martyred for his opinions at Bagdad. See Hastings's *Encycl. of Relig.* s.v. *Hallaj.*

[2] From the abbot at Vodhorina. Has the story any relation to S. Luke's account (xxiv, 30 ff.) of Christ's appearance to the disciples after the Resurrection? The district is, as above stated, recently converted.

[3] [Confirmed by his relative, the (*mujerred*) abbot of Odra. Dated tombs of the intervening abbots exist in the village of Vodhorina. —M.M.H.]

are said to exist at Kapishtitza (near Biglishta) and at Monastir.[1]

ODRA is, like Vodhorina, a small establishment occupied by an abbot and two or three dervishes, all local but one, who is an Albanian. The present abbot founded the *tekke* some forty years ago: it is *mujerred*, unlike his kinsman's at Vodhorina. The great attraction is a cave or chasm in the mountain, said to have been formed miraculously by Emineh Baba, who smote the mountain with his sword. Local Greek tradition identifies the Odra site with that of a former church of S. Menas, to whom is attributed the miracle of the cave; the habit of Emineh at Vodhorina, which is of no great antiquity, is also believed to be that of S. Menas. The identification may be due merely to the verbal assimilation of the names Emineh and *Ἁϊ Μηνᾶ*.

(*d*) Near Kozani, in the Sari Gueul district, is a group of three Bektashi *tekkes*. The district in question is inhabited entirely by Anatolian Turks ('Koniari'), who were settled there in the early years of the Turkish conquest and preserve their language and customs unchanged. By religion they are partly Bektashi and partly fanatical Sunni Mohammedans.

JUMA. The most important *tekke* of this group is built on a slight eminence just outside the village of the same name. It has every appearance of prosperity, and is occupied by an abbot and nine or ten dervishes. The saints buried in the adjoining *turbe* are Piri Baba and Erbei Baba. Their date is unknown, but the *turbe* was repaired, according to an inscription, by two dervishes (implying the existence of a foundation) in A.H. 1143 (1730–1), while in the surrounding cemetery several graves are slightly older.[2] Unlike most *tekkes* in this

[1] He is evidently confused, perhaps wilfully, with Khirka Baba, an (apparently historical) orthodox sheikh of Monastir who 'disappeared', leaving, like Emineh, his habit behind him; see above, p. 358.

[2] M.M.H. The oldest is A. H. 1113.

district, Juma seems to be a place of considerable religious importance. It is much frequented in May (especially Wednesdays and Saturdays) by Moslem women on account of the reputation of its sacred well for the cure of sterility. I was told by the abbot that Christian women made use of this well on Sundays, and, though this was denied by educated Greeks of Kozani, it may be true of the less advanced women of the adjacent Bulgarian villages. The *turbe* of the saints is used for incubation by lunatics, and contains a club and an axe, regarded as personal relics of the saints, which are used for the cure (by contact with the affected part) of various ailments. There is also a very simple oracle, consisting in an earthenware ball, suspended from the roof of the *turbe* by a string. The inquirer swings the ball away from him ; if it strikes him on its return swing, the answer to his question is in the affirmative.

BAGHJE, in a healthy and pleasant position among trees and running water in the hills above the village of Topjilar.[1] The *tekke* itself is an insignificant house, occupied by an abbot from Aintab and his servants : the abbot came by an untimely end in 1921 and no successor had been appointed up to 1923.[2] The *turbe*, which contains the grave of Ghazi Ali Baba, a saint of vague antiquity, was rebuilt in 1915.

BUJAK, between the villages of Kcusheler and Sofular, is now subordinated to Juma and has no abbot. It boasts the grave of Memi Bey Sultan and is inhabited by married dervishes. About it are many graves, one as old as A.H. 1051,[3] marked by the Bektashi *taj*, their number confirming the statement that Bujak was formerly the largest *tekke* of the three but never recovered from its losses in 1826.[4] An egg suspended in

[1] This village is Sunni, its neighbour, Ine Obasi, Bektashi.

[2] M.M.H. [3] M.M.H. This is A.D. 1641–2.

[4] [Except Ine Obasi, all the villages in this district are now Sunni, but inspection revealed Bektashi headstones in all the cemeteries.

Memi Bey's *turbe* is used for divination about the welfare of the absent, the procedure being parallel to that of the wishing oracle at Juma.[1]

At INELI, between the Sari Gueul district and Kayalar, there is a *turbe* with the tomb of Ghazi Baba.

The property of the *tekkes* at Juma and Bujak was confiscated in 1826 and acquired by a rich Greek of Kozani, who, however, never prospered after his sacrilegious purchase. The land was bought back 'about forty years ago' and the *tekkes* reopened. Vague traditions as to the Christian origins of these foundations are current in Kozani. Some say that all Christian church lands were seized at the Turkish conquest and that monasteries then became *tekkes*; others are equally certain that Ali Pasha was responsible. The dedications of the supplanted monasteries are similarly disputed. Juma is variously said to occupy the site of a church of S. George or of S. Elias; Baghje of S. Elias or of S. Demetrius; and Bujak perhaps one of S. George. The site of Baghje certainly suggests that of a Greek monastery, but a site suitable for a monastery is equally suitable for a *tekke*, and the abbot informed me that in the considerable agricultural and building operations which have taken place under his direction, no evidence of former buildings has come to light. Christians frequent all three *tekkes* for healing purposes.

(*e*) ELASSONA. Here there is a small *tekke* beside the Serfije (Serbia) road on the outskirts of the town. In 1915 it was occupied by an (Albanian) abbot only, in 1922 he, too, was gone and the *tekke* shut and deserted.[2] The Greeks say it was founded after the union of Thessaly with Greece (1882), but the occupants hold that it is a good deal older. The chief saint is Sali Baba, who is buried in a simple *turbe* with the (two) successive abbots of the *tekke*, the late incumbent being the third:

[1] Evidently the Bektashi movement had ramified very widely before 1826.—M.M.H.]

[2] M.M.H.

the *turbe* is dated 1250 (1834–5). Sali Baba is represented as a saint of much earlier date,[1] who enjoyed a local vogue before the *turbe* was built at the instance of the first abbot (Nejib Baba), and at the expense of certain local *beys*. We have here, to all appearance, a documented instance of the occupation of a popular saint-cult by the Bektashi.[2] Nejib Baba probably established himself as guardian of the grave, and received instructions in a vision as to the building of the *turbe* from its saintly occupant.[3]

(*f*) AIKATERINI. It is at first sight surprising to find a Bektashi *tekke* in what is now a purely Greek coast-district; but Leake's account shows that in his time the local landowners were Moslems, and the *bey* of the village was connected by marriage with Ali Pasha :[4] the *tekke* was probably *inter alia* a road-post like Ali's foundations in Thessaly.[5]

B.—Thessaly.

All available evidence points to the period and influence of Ali Pasha as responsible for the propagation of Bektashism in this province, ceded to Greece in 1882; this evidence is the stronger as coming from several independent sources.

RINI. The sole remaining Bektashi *tekke* in Thessaly is at Rini, between Velestino and Pharsala.[6] In 1914,

[1] 'Five hundred years ago', the formula for the period of the Turkish conquest. [2] See below, p. 566.

[3] This is the typical development of a purely popular cult into a dervish establishment carried one step further than in the case of the tomb of Risk Baba at Candia (see below, *Crete*). [Circumstances having permitted me to make more extensive researches locally than my husband, I found in Albania, where new *tekkes* are constantly being built, that this is true in some cases, not in others. The *tekke* is frequently built round his actual grave, within a few years of his death, to perpetuate the memory of some dervish, who had won especial esteem in his lifetime, but died away from the *tekke* within which he had lived.—M.M.H.]

[4] *N. Greece*, iii, 415. [5] See below, p. 533. [6] See below, p. 582.

I found it tenanted only by an (Albanian) abbot and servitors. The rest of the dervishes, who seem also to have been Albanians, left at the time of the Balkan war. The *tekke* is beautifully situated and appears prosperous. Two *turbes* containing the tombs (1) of the saints Turbali Sultan, Jafer, and Mustafa, all reputed warriors of the period of the Turkish conquest, and (2) of certain venerated sheikhs, stand before the great gate of the *tekke*. These *turbes* are of some architectural interest, and seem at least as early as the seventeenth century; in this they differ from most Bektashi buildings I have seen, which are unpretentious and obviously recent. According to local *savants*,[1] the *tekke* was originally a Latin monastery, dedicated to S. George or S. Demetrius, and was occupied by dervishes from Konia (Mevlevi ?) in the first half of the seventeenth century. Ali Pasha transferred it to the Bektashi; it escaped the persecutions of 1826, and down to the occupation of the country by the Greeks, and even after, had a bad reputation as the resort of brigands and other bad characters.[2] So late as 1888 there were 54 dervishes in residence.

Other Bektashi *tekkes* in the province, now no longer existent, were established, according to the local authorities, by Ali and dissolved in 1826, at the following places:

(1) Near TATAR, at the spot called *Tekke* and marked by a fine grove of cypresses.[3] The present proprietor of the site, now a farm (*chiftlik*), Mr. P. Apostolides, kindly informs me that it was till recently in the hands of the Mevlevi order,[4] and that of the buildings an octagonal *turbe* is preserved, which is supposed to contain the tomb of the founder. His name was given me

[1] See below, p. 766. [2] *Cf.* below, p. 767.

[3] Mentioned by Leake, *N. Greece*, i, 445.

[4] It may have passed from the Bektashi to the Mevlevi in 1826; *cf.* below, p. 553.

at Rini as Balli Baba. The rest of the buildings were burnt in the war of 1897.[1]

(2) Near the village of KUPEKLI was a *tekke* containing the grave of Shahin Baba.

(3) The *tekke* of HASAN BABA at the entrance to the gorge of Tempe [2] is represented by the local authorities as another Bektashi convent founded or supported by Ali in order to control the traffic of the important road through the defile. Though the saint is, I believe, claimed by the Nakshbandi, 'Baba' more generally denotes a Bektashi saint, and Hasan Baba seems to be represented as a warrior-saint of the usual Bektashi type. On the other hand, Dodwell's drawing (1805) shows the *tekke* with a mosque and minaret, which latter is an unusual feature in a Bektashi convent. Edward Lear, in the fifties, describes the dervish in charge as 'steeple hatted', which rather points to the Mevlevi as the then occupants. At the fall of the Bektashi (1826), they were in the ascendant by the favour of Sultan Mahmud II.[3]

All these *tekkes* are said by local Greeks to have been made use of for political purposes by Ali, and their sites on or near important highways to have been selected with that intent. Ali's political connexion with the order is discussed elsewhere.[4] Bektashis, however, state that the *tekkes* were founded at the time of the Turkish conquest.

(4) At TRIKKALA Leake found a large and prosperous *tekke* built by Ali himself.[5]

[1] The *tekke* was the head-quarters of the Turkish staff on May 9 (Bigham, *With the Turkish Army in Thessaly*, p. 92).

[2] Dodwell, *Views in Greece*, II, vi (*cf. Tour through Greece*, ii, 107); Urquhart, *Spirit of the East*, ii, 27; Lear, *Albania*, p. 406; Chirol, *Twixt Greek and Turk*, p. 114.

[3] Below pp. 620 ff. [4] See also below, pp. 586 ff.

[5] *N. Greece*, iv, 284: 'Trikkala has lately been adorned by the Pasha with a new Tekiéh, or college of Bektashlí dervíses, on the site of a former one. He has not only removed several old buildings to give more space and air to this college, but has endowed it with property in

AGIA (near). A Bektashi *tekke* at Aidinli, three miles north-west of Agia (Magnesia) is mentioned by Leake as being built by Ali Pasha in 1809.[1] This seems to be identical with the convent of 'Alicouli' mentioned by Pouqueville.[2]

At LARISSA the 'Forty Saints', whose tombs were formerly to be seen at the 'Mosque of the Forty' (*Kirklar Jami*), now destroyed, are claimed by the Bektashi.

C.—Crete.

The Bektashi of Crete are now distributed in the three chief towns of the island, Candia, Rethymo, and Canea. There was formerly a *tekke* at H. Vlasios, a Mohammedan village two hours south of Candia. At Canea I obtained from a Bektashi layman approximate statistics of the strength of the order in the three towns before and after the troubles of 1897, which resulted in a considerable emigration of Moslem Cretans to Asia Minor, Tripolitania, and the Sporades. This movement is reflected in the statistics, which are given for what they are worth:

	(1) *Before* 1897.	(2) *Present day.*
Candia	5,000	About 500
Rethymo	3,000	1,000
Canea	200	70

The district south of Candia was that in which the

khans, shops, and houses, and has added some fields on the banks of the *Lethaeus*. There are now about fifteen of these Mahometan monks in the house with a Sheikh or Chief, who is married to an Ioannite woman, and as well lodged and dressed as many a Pashá. Besides his own apartments, there are very comfortable lodgings for the dervíses, and every convenience for the reception of strangers.'

[1] *N. Greece*, iv, 413: 'At Aidinlí, Alý Pashá is now building a Tekiéh for his favourite Bektashlís.'

[2] *Voyage dans la Grèce*, iii, 61: '... le bourg turc d'Alicouli, dont le Téké, qui est le plus riche de la Thessalie, est le chef-lieu de l'ordre des Bektadgis.' The sheikh, Ahmed, was an acquaintance of Pouqueville's.

Moslem element was strongest. It is hardly necessary to say that the Moslem Cretans are of Cretan blood and represent the indigenous element converted from Christianity since the Turkish conquest. The small number of Bektashi at Canea, the capital of the island and an important town, is accounted for by the fact that the Mevlevi are strong there, as also, owing to the floating population of Tripolines ('Halikuti') from Benghazi, the Rifai.

CANDIA. The *tekke* lies on the main road three-quarters of an hour south of the town, near the site of Knossos and the village of Fortezza.[1] It was founded before the fall of Candia (1669), in 1650[2] by a celebrated saint named Khorasanli Ali Dede, who is buried there. The present venerable sheikh, who has the title of *khalife*,[3] is an Albanian from Kolonia and a celibate; his predecessor was married, and at his death it was thought more expedient for the convent that a celibate should succeed him. There are about a dozen dervishes, many of whom seem to be Albanian. The *tekke* has every appearance of prosperity and good management.

Outside the New Gate of Candia is the tomb of Risk Baba, who is distinguished by the segmented *taj* on his headstone as a Bektashi saint. To judge by the mass of rags affixed to a tree in his precinct he is a very popular intercessor. A small hut built beside the grave is that of a self-appointed guardian of the tomb, who is buried beside the saint.

The *tekke* at RETHYMO contains the grave of Hasan Baba. At CANEA there is now no *tekke* owing to Bek-

[1] The *tekke* is described, with a photograph of the *meidan*, by Hall in *Proc. Soc. Bibl. Arch.* 1913, pp. 147 ff. and pl. 39, and mentioned by Spratt, *Crete*, i, 81.

[2] Of this I was assured there was documentary evidence by a learned Bektashi layman of Candia. The Turkish head-quarters during the long siege of Candia were at Fortezza.

[3] See below, p. 537, n. 4.

tashi migration.[1] A Bektashi warrior-saint Mustafa Ghazi is buried under an open *turbe* on the outskirts of the town; his headstone bears the *taj* of the order. This tomb is much frequented by the Tripolines on May 22.

D.—Epirus.

In this region Bektashism seems to have taken no permanent root south of latitude 40°. In spite of Ali Pasha's patronage,[2] the Bektashi admit that they have never possessed a *tekke* at Yannina, his capital, where the only trace of them is the tomb of Hasan Sheret Baba, a saint of Ali's time, and that of Ali himself, the headstone of which was formerly distinguished by the regulation Bektashi *taj*.[3] On the road between Yannina and Metzovo a *tekke* which formerly existed is now deserted; we may probably regard it as one of Ali's 'strategic' foundations devised to control the important pass into Thessaly.[4]

At KONITZA exists what is said to be a very old *tekke*. Husain Baba is the oldest *baba* buried there, with Turabi Baba beside him. The present abbot is Haidar Baba.[5]

§ 10. *Albania*

The great stronghold of modern Bektashism is Albania, especially south Albania, where nine-tenths of

[1] The sheikh formerly in charge was invited by Cretan Bektashi refugees in Benghazi to come and minister to them, but he died without founding a *tekke* there; this would have been difficult owing to the predominance of the Rifai and Senussi sects in that district.

[2] See below, pp. 586 ff.

[3] This is shown in a drawing of the tomb in Walsh's *Constantinople*, and was mentioned to me as proof of Ali's connexion with the sect by an elderly Epirote, who remembered seeing it. The headstone is now replaced by a wooden post.

[4] See above, *Thessaly*.

[5] The son of a dervish sheikh at Konitza (probably therefore a Bektashi) was martyred for Christianity at Vrachori in 1814 ('S. John the Neomartyr of Konitza', for whose life see N. Λειμων., p. 331; *cf.* above, p. 449, n. 7).

the Moslem population are said by Bektashis to be Bektashi, one-tenth only of the Ghegs of the north adhering to the sect.

As to the history of Bektashism in south Albania (sometimes called North Epirus), my researches have been able to establish the leading facts: (1) that it is of comparatively recent introduction, and (2) that the firm root it has taken is mainly due to the influence of Ali Pasha (1759–1822), who was himself a member of the order.[1] The Tosks regard the *tekke* of Kastoria [2] as the most ancient in their country, but Kastoria belongs geographically to Macedonia. The date of this *tekke* is vague, and, as elsewhere in Rumeli, the saint there buried is referred to the period of the Turkish conquest, and his personality is frankly superhuman. On the Albanian side of the mountains, on the other hand, the dates of the saints are known and recent,[3] and they have no pretensions to be more than the founders of the *tekkes* where their bones lie. In point of antiquity the Argyrokastro foundations claim to be earlier than Ali Pasha, but can produce no evidence. The Koritza group, Konitza, the important *tekke* of Frasheri, and some others are admittedly foundations of Ali's contemporaries, while many others confess to a much later origin.

With very few exceptions the saints buried in Albanian *tekkes* seem to be of small religious importance, the living abbot being much more considered.[4] To an

[1] This idea was put forward long ago on the evidence of tradition, which is no safe guide, since a figure like Ali's bulks large in popular thought and is apt to absorb much that does not belong to it.

[2] Above, *Macedonia*.

[3] *Cf.*, however, Hasan Dede of Klissura, alleged to be 350–400 years old (below, p. 543).

[4] Abbots may be appointed by *khalifes* as well as by the Akhi Dede of Haji Bektash. In the Albanian area *khalifes* exist at Argyrokastro, Turan (Tepelen), and Prizrend. A *khalife* seems to be a higher grade of abbot, *cf.* above, p. 507.—M.M.H.

outsider it appears that the Albanian temperament has evolved a form of Bektashism in which the social organization rather than the religious-superstitious side is uppermost. This is borne out also by externals; the Bektashi *tekkes* throughout the district have no distinguishing marks and no set plan. They are generally built simply and solidly, like good country houses, and situated just outside villages, more rarely in proximity to considerable towns. The tombs of the saints are in very simple *turbes* standing well away from the main buildings, it is said for reasons of health.

Characteristic of the time at which Bektashism won its foothold in Albania—the era of the French Revolution—is the prominence given here, in theory at least, to certain liberal ideas, such as the Brotherhood of Man and the unimportance of the dogmas and formalities of religion as compared with conduct. Both these ideas and the quietist doctrines, which to some extent depend on them, are latent in much dervish thought; but they are radically opposed to the stern ideal of Islam propagated by the sword which animated the Janissaries in their days of conquest, and which shows itself in the conception of the earlier Bektashi saints as superhuman champions of the Faith.

The persecution of Sultan Mahmud (1826) touched the Albanian Bektashi lightly, owing not only to the fact that the movement in Albania had not reached its height, but also doubtless to the wildness and inaccessibility of the country; we may well believe, indeed, that it was a refuge for Bektashi proscribed elsewhere, certainly for those of Albanian birth.

The only orders competing with the Bektashi in southern Albania were the orthodox Sadi (at Liaskovik) and the Khalveti; of this latter an offshoot, known as the Hayati,[1] has or had establishments at

[1] I can find in printed sources no mention of this order or sub-order. Their patron is said to be Hasan of Basra. They can, I think, hardly

Tepelen [1] (burnt), Liaskovik (burnt), Koritza (ruined), Biglishta, Changeri, Progti, and Okhrida. The Khalveti-Hayati are said to have come into Albania later than the Bektashi, but are shown by the date over the portal of their ruined *tekke* at Liaskovik (1211 = 1796–7) to be no recent intruders.

Sultan Abdul Mejid (1839–61) is said not only to have abstained from persecuting the Bektashi, but to have given positive orders that they were not to be molested.[2] Abdul Hamid seems to have suspected them, and is said to have sent a special emissary to Albania to report on the extent of the heresy and the number of *tekkes*, but no persecution or active measures followed. His suspicions were probably based on the participation of the Bektashi in the national movement of 1880–1, when the cession of part of southern Albania to Greece was under discussion, and the southern Albanians rose under Abdul Bey Frasheri, ostensibly to save the threatened provinces to Turkey, but really aiming at an independent Albanian state.

The losses of the Bektashi order in Epirus during the troubles succeeding the Balkan war were enormous, many *tekkes* having been burnt to the ground, and most of the remainder looted of everything moveable by the Epirote irregulars. The nominal excuse for this was (1) that the order was implicated in the national Albanian (and therefore anti-Greek) movement, and (2) that some *tekkes* were suspected of having harboured not only 'bands' but fugitives from justice (the two categories largely overlap) and to have shared their

be identical with Rycaut's *Hayetti* (*Ottoman Empire*, p. 61), an heretical sect with Christian leanings, the Khalveti being regarded as orthodox. Fadil Bey Klissura regards the Hayati also as orthodox.

[1] This is presumably the establishment mentioned by Miss Durham, *Burden of the Balkans*, p. 242.

[2] Aravantinos (*Χρονογραφία τῆς Ἠπείρου* (1857), ii, 18) notes, evidently with surprise, that in his day many of the inhabitants of Argyrokastro were *openly* Bektashi.

plunder. To this the Bektashi would probably reply that they were natural allies, by blood and language, of the Albanian cause and that hospitality, irrespective of persons, is the rule of the order. It is clear that in such a country the evident prosperity of the *tekkes*, whatever the character of their inmates, would be sufficient to attract the cupidity of guerrilla captains ; several dervishes are said to have been murdered because they would not or could not disclose the whereabouts of their supposed wealth.

Further north the chief Bektashi district is that of Malakastra, a Tosk district lying between the River Voyussa (Aous) and that of Berat (Lumi Beratit). Numerous Bektashi *tekkes* existed here before the war, but all were then destroyed, because such as escaped the Greek irregulars immediately after the war were burnt by the Gheg followers of Essad Pasha of Tirana.[1] The history of the conversion of this district to Bektashism is vague : all seem agreed that it is recent, certainly more recent than in Epirus. There seems considerable probability that the beginnings of the propaganda are as old as the time of Ali Pasha, since we know that the sect was established further north (at Kruya, *q.v.*) in his time, and some Bektashi claim that Omer Vrioni of Berat [2] and a certain Mahmud Bey of Valona, contemporaries of Ali, were in the movement.[3] Traces of Bektashism are to be found both at Valona and at Berat, and neither Omer nor Mahmud is, like Ali, a great figure to which popular tradition refers all events indiscriminately. Still further north Bektashism is only sporadic owing to the strong Sunni opinions and consequent opposition of the Ghegs.

[1] Essad is the great-grandson of the murderer of Mimi, below, p. 550.

[2] The *beys* of Berat are said to be Bektashi (they denied this in 1923 to M. M. H.).

[3] Degrand (*Haute Albanie*, p. 211) cites also a contemporary Ibrahim Bey of Kavaya as a member of the sect.

The following[1] is a list of the Bektashi *tekkes* in Albania before the Balkan war. Villages with *tekkes* are grouped with their market towns.

i. ARGYROKASTRO. Bektashism is said to have gained a footing here 'about 150 years ago'. Ali Pasha's influence was strong here owing to the marriage of his sister to a powerful local bey.[2] The chief *tekke* is that of Haji Suleiman Baba, delightfully situated on a small isolated eminence near the town. Before the Balkan war twenty dervishes resided here; there are now rather fewer. The history of the *tekke* cannot be traced for more than 90 years; the earliest of the four *turbes* containing the graves of deceased abbots dates only from 1862–3, but according to legend Argyrokastro was visited at a vague early date by the Bektashi saints Hasan Baba[3] (really a Nakshbandi) and Mustafa Baba, of whom the latter is buried here. The abbot is a *khalife*.[4]

Asim Baba's *tekke* on the other side of Argyrokastro was founded 'two hundred years' ago and is reckoned one of the oldest in Albania. The founder and his successor are buried on either side of the gateway so that they may pray for all who enter. There are now seven dervishes with the learned Selim Baba as abbot. The Rule of the *tekke* is unusually strict: no spirits are allowed and dervishes are forbidden to quit the *tekke* grounds. In addition, they wear a four-ridged *taj* outside the ordinary twelve-ridged Bektashi hat in souvenir of 1826, when only by adopting some such disguise could Bektashi dervishes escape destruction.

The *tekke* of Zeynel Abidin Baba, between the town and Haji Suleiman's, is now deserted. It is 133 years old.

[1] [From this point onwards most of the information given comes from my own 1923 notebooks, as conditions were then more normal in Albania than when my husband travelled.—M. M. H.]

[2] Leake, *N. Greece*, i, 40; *cf.* Hahn, *Alban. Studien*, p. 35.

[3] See above, pp. 356–7.

[4] See above, p. 537, n. 4.

Four hours S.E. of Argyrokastro at Melan near NEPRAVISHTA there is a *tekke* which was founded sixty years ago as an offshoot of Asim Baba's *tekke* at Argyrokastro.

ii. At TEPELEN, the birthplace of Ali, there was never a Bektashi *tekke*,[1] but there were, and are, several in the villages of the district. These are :

VELIKIOT, an old foundation, which has been closed since its destruction by Sultan Mahmud. Husain Baba was the oldest of its saints.

TURAN, two hours from Tepelen. The *tekke* was founded about 1900, having had only two abbots, Ali Baba, who died A.H. 1324 (A.D. 1906–7), and the present incumbent. The *tekke* is rich and has now twelve dervishes : its abbot is a *khalife*.[2]

MEMALIA, a rich *tekke* about eighty years old, with Husain Baba as chief saint. Destroyed, like Turan, by Greek irregulars, it was rebuilt, only to be overthrown by the earthquake which recently devastated the Tepelen area. There are now only two dervishes.

MARICHAN is about thirty years old, being founded by Baba Musa who died during the Greek occupation of south Albania. It has lately been rebuilt by the dervishes who formerly occupied the *tekke* of Kichok.[3]

Further along the right bank of the River Voyussa in the Malakastra district are the following *tekkes*.

KOSHDAN, a rich *tekke*, which is about 110 years old, the present abbot being the sixth in succession. Ismail Baba is the saint.

KRAHAS is about fifty years old, four *babas*, of whom Husain Baba is the first, being buried here.

[1] The 'Tekieh or convent of dervises' noted by Leake (*N. Greece*, i, 31) on the slopes of Mount Trebeshin across the river from Tepelen was the summer quarters of the Tepelen Khalveti dervishes, whom Haji Khalil Baba founded 'five hundred years' ago. They are now settled altogether in Tepelen and the mountain establishment is shut up.

[2] See above, p. 537, n. 4.

[3] See below, p. 544.

At KUTA Rifaat Baba has just made his own house into a *tekke*.

DRIZAR was founded by Jelal Baba some twenty years ago.

The KREMENAR *tekke* was founded about fifteen years ago by Hasan Baba, who has not yet rebuilt it and lives for the present at Krahas.

KAPANI was founded about twenty-two years ago by Baba Ismail, who is now dead.

OSMAN ZEZA is eighteen years old : its founder, Baba Elias, is dead.

On PLESHNIK no information was forthcoming.

The GRESHITZA *tekke* is about sixty years old, its founder being Husain Baba.

At ARANITAS there is as yet no *tekke*, but a *baba* has for some years been living there in a house, which will no doubt later become a *tekke*.

At HEKALI there is a *turbe* but no *tekke*. Patsch noted a cemetery containing graves marked by the Bektashi *taj*.[1]

LAPOLETS, a small, insignificant *tekke*, was founded by Nuri Baba, who is now buried there. The *tekke* is actually situated at Grenchie, a mile away.

At VALONA Patsch saw the grave of a Bektashi saint, Kosum Baba.[2] He is sometimes called Kuzu Baba : it is said that leave to build a *tekke* by his grave was requested from the Turkish government but refused, Valona being fanatically Sunni. He is now called Shemsi Baba and is tended by a Sunni *khoja*.

iii. At KLISSURA, east of Tepelen, the *beys* are Bektashis, and men swear by Hasan Dede, a local saint who was brother of a local chief, Jadikula.

Northwards along the Berat road lie several *tekkes*. The first reached is SUKA, a recent establishment which shares its *baba* with Prishta, of which it is a dependency.

[1] *Berat*, p. 117.

[2] *Ibid.* p. 9 ; *cf.* Durham, *Burden of the Balkans*, p. 274.

Dervish Ibrahim, who is left in charge during the *baba's* absence, was formerly Sunni and a *khoja*.

PRISHTA is the richest *tekke* in Albania, owning Suka and three other *chiftliks*. It was founded about 1860 by Tahir Baba, who is buried there.

At BUBES there is no *tekke*, but only the *turbe* of Talib Baba, who died about 1890.

At KICHOK the *tekke* which Baba Kamber made about 1890 has not been rebuilt. The dervishes have gone to Marichan, Baba Kamber to Bulgaria, where he has built a *tekke* at Rustchuk.[1]

The poor *tekke* of GLAVA was built about forty years ago by Ismail Baba.

The RABIA *tekke* was founded about thirty-six years ago by Baba Suleiman.

The *tekke* at KOMARI was founded twenty years ago by Islam Baba. At present there is no *baba*.

A *tekke* was built fifteen years ago by Husain Baba at Gumani near PANARET.

The THREPEL *tekke* was founded fifty years ago by Behlul Baba.

iv. The high road leads east of Klissura to Premet, passing the following *tekkes*:

DUSHK, near the village of Grobova,[2] founded twenty-five years ago by Ahmed Baba.

ALI POSTIVAN, with a *baba* and three dervishes, founded twenty years ago. The buried saint is Abdullah Baba.

At KOSHINA there is now no *tekke*, but only a lodging for travellers and an attendant dervish.

Three-quarters of the Moslem population of PREMET is Bektashi. On the slope of the hill above the town there was formerly a *tekke*,[3] founded by Bektash Baba

[1] See above, p. 523.

[2] This site has not been identified with certainty.

[3] The *tekke* is described by Miss Durham, *Burden of the Balkans*, p. 228.

about thirty-five years ago as an offshoot from Frasheri for the greater convenience of the Premet Bektashis. Both Bektash Baba and his successor, Ismail, lie buried in the town beside the grave of Haji Baba, a very old saint 'of Khorasan', who died '300 years ago' at Premet, but protruded his hand from his grave to signify that he wished to be transferred to Kesaraka,[1] where he accordingly now rests. In 1915 Greek troops were quartered in the *tekke*, so the abbot and dervishes betook themselves to the town annexe, where they have since remained, the *tekke* proper being now used by the Albanians as a barracks.

v. A few hours from Premet on the Koritza road is LIASKOVIK. The population of this (till the war) thriving hill-town is largely Bektashi.[2] The *tekke* just outside it, on a hill above the Kolonia road, is said to have been about thirty-five years old; it contained the grave of the founder Abiddin Baba, and housed seven or eight dervishes. The new *tekke* has been under construction since 1921, but there is only an abbot as yet in residence.

vi. On the road to Kolonia (otherwise Herseka) there is the *tekke* of Sianolas near BARMASH. It was founded by Baba Suleiman about forty years ago and had the tomb of Hasan Baba and five dervishes before the war. It still has an abbot and one dervish, but has by no means recovered from its destruction by the Greeks.

At ISTARIA near Herseka, in the Baruch *mahalla*, there is a poor *tekke* with only one dervish in residence. It was founded thirty years ago by Husain Baba, who is buried in it. Sick people incubate here.

At KRESHOVA there is a richer *tekke*, founded by Hasan Baba and enlarged by Jemal Baba. There are now three dervishes besides the abbot.

vii. In the Koritza district[3] there are four *tekkes*.

[1] See below, p. 547.

[2] *Cf.* Durham, *Burden of the Balkans*, p. 217.

[3] At Koritza itself there is the tomb of Koja Mir Akhor tended by

Forty minutes along the road to Kolonia is KIATOROM, said to have been built by Bekir Efendi '150 years ago', to have suffered under Sultan Mahmud, and to have been restored by Kiazim Baba forty years ago, both Bekir and Kiazim being buried in it. The buildings look about forty years old. There are now three dervishes and an abbot, the latter's appointment dating from 1918.

TURAN, with four dervishes in 1923, is close by. Its abbot had then been three years absent. The fourth abbot's grave is dated A.H. 1307 (A.D. 1889–90).

MELCHAN is an hour and a half from Koritza along the Moschopolis road and stands on high ground above the village of the same name. The *tekke* was looted by the Greek insurgents, but the solid and homely buildings were spared. The date of its foundation is given as 'a hundred and eight years ago': one of its two simple octagonal *turbes* is inscribed A.H. 1221. The founder, Husain Baba, is buried in an undated tomb; his successor, Abdullah Baba, lies in a grave dated A.H. 1274. In relation to him an extraordinary story is now told. When the French army was at Koritza, a major dreamt that Abdullah Baba was beating him for having entered the *turbe* without taking off his boots. He was so much impressed that he put up a notice on the *turbe* forbidding any one to enter shod. Whatever the reason, the notice in French and Turkish was there in 1923, with the Frenchman's signature appended—unfortunately, not on Abdullah's *turbe* but the other. An abbot and

a descendant and much visited by Bektashis. When Master of the Horse to a certain sultan, he caught a Koran as it slipped from the sultan's hands. In return he was offered a favour and chose to possess the land where his horse should die. He then went on his travels and his horse died at Platza (=*crever* in Albanian) near Koritza. This tale, told me by Ali Kemal Bey Klissura, evidently refers to the founder of the Koja Mir Akhor Jamisi at Constantinople, who is buried in his Albanian birthplace (Hammer-Hellert, *Jardin des Mosquées*, p. 42 (412), in *Hist. Emp. Ott.* xviii), Koritza.

six dervishes were in residence in 1923. There is no *mesjid*, the antechamber of one of the *turbes* being used as such when required.

The *tekke* of KUCH is situated half an hour beyond Biglishta on the road from Koritza to Florina and Kastoria in Macedonia. A village of the same name is near. The *tekke* is said to be one of the oldest in Albania, having been founded by Kasim Baba,[1] 'five hundred years ago'. His tomb is in a *turbe* a quarter of an hour away, pilgrimages being made to it every Monday and Friday. Elbassan and Kastoria also claim to have his tomb, but, according to Kuch, theirs are only cenotaphs, the genuine grave is at Kuch. In a *turbe* near the *tekke* seven saints lie buried. After Mahmud II's persecution, Ibrahim Baba refounded the *tekke* in A.H. 1295, while Hafiz Baba built the new buildings in A.H. 1324. He was shot dead by the Greeks, his bloodstained *taj* being shown to visitors, as also the bloodstains on the floor, which resist all attempts at washing them away. In 1923 there were an abbot and three dervishes living in the *tekke*.

The important Christian monastery of S. NAUM on Lake Okhrida is visited by Bektashi as a pilgrimage.[2]

viii. KESARAKA, some hours north-west of Kolonia, is a *mutehhil* convent. Before the war there were five or six dervishes besides the abbot, now the abbot only is left; the *tekke* is not very popular, dervishes preferring the celibate system. The foundation was due to Haji Baba of Khorasan, who died, as related above,[3] at Premet. He lies in a handsome *turbe*, which the Greeks looted but did not entirely destroy.

ix. The pleasant *tekke* of FRASHERI is situated amid fantastic scenery some hours south-west of Kesaraka. Before the war it was large and important, being tenanted by about twenty dervishes, and containing the tomb of

[1] See above, p. 526.

[2] Above, p. 435 f., below, p. 583.

[3] P. 545.

the sheikh Nasibi. This saint, who was a contemporary of Ali Pasha, is much revered, and it is said that the Tosks use his name in asseverations instead of God's. His original name was Moharrem Baba, but when he made his pilgrimage to the *tekke* of Haji Bektash, the door of the *tekke* opened to him of its own accord, and the abbot, recognizing a miracle, said, 'It is thy fate (*nasib*)'. Nasibi, with Sheikh Ali and Sheikh Mimi, is said to have foretold to Ali Pasha his brilliant future, warning him also of the fate which would overtake him if he failed to govern justly. The *tekke*, together with the tomb of Nasibi, was burnt to the ground in 1914, but it has since been almost entirely rebuilt.

To the south-east of Frasheri there are three *turbes* about twelve years old, at Polena near GADUCHI, BITISHT, and BRESHDAN respectively. Ismail Baba is the saint of Gaduchi, the others are nameless.

x. North of the Frasheri area is the *tekke* of BACHKA[1] whose present abbot is the sixth in succession, the *tekke* having been founded about sixty years ago by Hamid Baba of Melchan. After its recent destruction it is once more in going order. The *tekke* of DERVISHEI to the south, with an abbot only, is a *chiftlik* of Bachka.

Between Gyeres and Kulmak, on the slopes of Mount TOMOR, there is another *tekke*, reputed the oldest in Albania and dedicated to Abbas Ali, son of Ali. There are said to be seven dervishes in residence. In August a great *panegyris* is held there, both Bektashis and Christians frequenting it.[2]

The *tekke* of SHIMIRDEN is situated some hours north

[1] Vrepska, north of Bachka, is a Khalveti pilgrimage, not a Bektashi, as indicated in *B.S.A.* xxi, 118.

[2] *Cf.* Baldacci, in *Boll. R. Soc. Geogr.* (Roma), 1914, p. 978. The most binding oath for all religions and sects in this district is by Mt. Tomor, according to Ali Kemal Klissura. As at Kalkandelen I found S. Elias equated to the Bektashi saint Ali, I suspect that the Tomor saint is S. Elias to the Christians. For the difficulty of completely ascending the mountain at the August *panegyris* see Hasluck, *Letters*, p. 3.

of Tomoritza. It was founded by Mustafa Baba fifty-five years ago and is considered a good place to visit for purposes of prayer.[1]

xi. The next Bektashi region is BERAT. Here there was a handsome *tekke* before the war, under Baba Kamber, but it has not yet been rebuilt. The actual site is at Vilabisht, a little south of Berat.

xii. The *tekke* half an hour east of ELBASSAN was destroyed by the Ghegs and is temporarily housed in what was formerly the granary of the *tekke*, but fruit-trees, flowers, and running water combine to make the site a paradise. The founder was Mustafa Baba, who is buried here. Lately there has been an improvement in the relations of Sunnis and Bektashis in North Albania, even in Elbassan, where there are said to be now about five hundred Bektashi families. The reason is mainly the emphasis laid by the Bektashis on patriotism as a virtue. Kasim Baba [2] left his hand at Elbassan.

Bektashi *ziarets* at Durazzo and Bazaar Shiakh may be inferred from Degrand's version of the Sari Saltik legend.[3] The population of Tirana is said by the same author to be equally divided between the Bektashi and Rifai sects.[4]

xiii. The population of KRUYA seems to be almost exclusively Bektashi. Its extraordinary importance as a place of Bektashi pilgrimage is brought out by Degrand's interesting account of the saints' tombs, traditionally 366 in number, in and about the town.[5] Bektashism seems to have been introduced here towards the end of the eighteenth century by Ali Pasha's agent, Sheikh Mimi, who founded a *tekke* at Kruya in 1807 and

[1] It is probably the *Shent Mrain* mentioned by my husband in *B.S.A.* xxi, 121. None of my Albanian informants could identify it in that form.—M. M. H.

[2] See above, pp. 526, 547.

[3] *Haute Albanie*, p. 240.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 194.

[5] *Ibid.*, pp. 221 ff.: *cf.* Ippen, *Skutari*, pp. 71 ff., and in *Wiss. Mitth. Bosnien*, vii, 60.

at first made common cause with the local chief, Kaplan Pasha Topdan, as against his neighbour the Pasha of Skutari,[1] who was hostile to Ali of Yannina. The missionary sheikh afterwards fell out with Kaplan Pasha, either, as the latter said, because he had been bought by the Pasha of Skutari, or possibly because he suspected Kaplan Pasha himself of similar disloyalty to Ali and the Bektashi party. Kaplan ordered Mimi to quit Kruya; the sheikh retaliated by an unsuccessful attempt to murder the pasha, which cost him his own life. But public feeling in Kruya was so strong for Mimi, that the Topdan family were unable to reside there, and moved to Tirana.[2] The family quarrel of the Topdans with the Bektashi is, as we have seen, perpetuated by their modern representative, Essad Pasha.

Kruya is one of the many places associated with the adventures of the Bektashi saint Sari Saltik.[3] Of the two chief *tekkes* there, one ('Mali Kruyes') is two hours and a half's steep climb up the mountain behind Kruya town. It contains a grave of Sari Saltik.[4] The masonry at the spring is dated A. H. 1190. The shrine is noted for its cures. The *tekke* is *mutehhil*, like Kesaraka, and is deserted in winter.

At the *tekke* in the plain ('Fusha Kruyes') the chief buried saint is Baba Ali, who is said to date from 150–200 years back and to be older than Sheikh Mimi. An abbot and three dervishes are living there, but the *tekke* was burnt by the Ghegs and is as yet only half rebuilt. In the precinct are two remarkable trees, one with flat, plank-like branches being said to have sprung

[1] So we find Kaplan at the end of the eighteenth century celebrated a victory over his rival by building a *turbe* to the Bektashi saint Hamza Baba (Ippen, *Skutari*, p. 71). [2] Degrand, *Haute Albanie*, p. 210.

[3] See above, pp. 435 ff. I have heard, but not very definitely, of a hitherto unrecorded tomb of Sari Saltik at Khass, between Skutari and Jakova: see, however, Miss Durham, *Burden of the Balkans*, p. 304.

[4] His saddle and pilaf-dish were turned into stone on the Kruya-Shushi road, where they may still be seen.

from a plank stuck in the ground by Baba Ali of Khorasan, who was a contemporary of Skanderbeg.

At GIORMI beyond Mamures on the Skutari road there is a big *tekke* founded about 130 years ago by Haidar Baba.

From Skutari the Bektashi were banished for political reasons in the time of Ali Pasha[1] and seem never to have regained a footing there.

xiv. At MARTANESH, on the head waters of the river Mati, there were two *tekkes* before the war. That of Balum Sultan, on the mountain, was built in the time of Mahmud Pasha of Skutari and was burnt by the Serbs a few years ago : they added insult to injury by shaving the abbot's beard off. Their attack on the *tekke* in the town was foiled by the townspeople, though they are mainly Sunnis and fanatical at that. This lower *tekke* was built twenty-five years ago by Haji Husain Baba of Kruya. There are now two dervishes besides the abbot in it ; the mountain *tekke* has not been rebuilt.

xv. In the DIBRA region in East Albania there is a *tekke* at Blatza near Humesh which was built thirty years ago by Yusuf Baba : the Ghegs destroyed it.

§ 11. *Austro-Hungary*

A.—Bosnia.

There has been no Bektashi *tekke* in Bosnia since 1903, though the sect lingers on and the communities are visited from time to time by sheikhs from Albania.[2]

B.—Budapest.

The farthest outpost of Bektashism is the *tekke* of Gul Baba, a relic of the Turkish occupation, which is still one of the minor sights of the Hungarian capital.[3]

[1] Ippen, *Skutari*, p. 36. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 73.

[3] See E. Browne, *Travels* (1673), p. 34 ; M. Walker, *Old Tracks*, p. 289 ; J. P. Brown, *Dervishes*, p. 89 ; *Die Österreichische-ungarische Monarchie in Wort und Bild* : *Ungarn* (III), p. 96 ; Baedeker, *Austria-Hungary* (1905), p. 345 : Boué, *Turq. d'Europe*, iii, 404.

XLIII

'BEKTASHI PAGES'

Introductory

THE following text is a translation of an Albanian Bektashi pamphlet which has a considerable reputation among members of that sect. The original is written in the Tosk dialect of Albanian by Naim Bey, a native of Frasheri [1] and brother of the historian Sami Bey and of a certain Abdul Bey Frasheri, who organized through the Bektashi *tekkes* a national movement in 1880–1, when the cession of part of southern Albania to Greece was under discussion.[2] This movement was secretly authorized by Abdul Hamid on the understanding that it should be a mock conspiracy designed to throw dust in the eyes of Europe and save the Albanian provinces to Turkey. Abdul Bey, however, intended it as a blow for Albanian independence. His plans were prematurely betrayed, his few hundred followers defeated, and he himself made prisoner. While Albania still formed part of the Turkish empire, Naim Bey's pamphlet passed through two editions, printed respectively at Bucharest in 1896 [3] and at Salonica in 1910 [4] in a mixed character based on Roman, but borrowing letters also from the Cyrillic and Greek. It is now everywhere on sale in Albania.[5]

Albanian being known to few persons outside the Balkan peninsula, I availed myself of the kindness of

[1] See above, p. 539, and Hasluck, *Letters*, p. 74.

[2] See the bluebooks of these dates on 'Rectification of the Greek Frontier.'

[3] Legrand, *Bibliographie Albanaise*, no. 608. [A copy of this edition is now in the British Museum.—M. M. H.]

[4] Of this I was lucky enough to secure a copy in 1915, through my friend Mr. Micu Hondrosom of Bucharest, and it is from this that the text below is translated.

[5] M. M. H.

Professor Charitonidis, a native of Tepelen, who to Greeks interested in Albanian studies is well known for his series of Greek-Albanian school books, and thus I secured a literal translation of the Albanian text into Greek; from this I have myself made an English version, preserving the short paragraphs of the original which seem in character with the aphoristic and didactic nature of the work.[1]

The pamphlet is entitled *Fletore e Bektashiniet*, which may perhaps be rendered *Bektashi Pages*.[2] Inside is the second title *Bektashite* ('The Bektashi'). It consists of thirty-two 16mo pages, of which sixteen are occupied with the prose exposition of Bektashism, the rest by rhymed religious poems here omitted.

My complete ignorance of Albanian renders any commentary on the style impossible. The matter is specially interesting for its entire freedom from dogma and mythology and its insistence on ethics. The doctrine of the brotherhood of man is a familiar feature in much dervish thought and is always to the fore in Albanian Bektashism. The national Albanian sentiments expressed, and the inculcation of patriotism as the highest of virtues, are characteristic of the nineteenth century awakening of national consciousness among the Balkan peoples, and have a special interest on account of the author's family connexions.[3]

Particularly interesting is the fact that the prescribed prayers are not in Arabic, the sacred language of Islam, but in Albanian, the vernacular tongue.[4] Similarly, the Arabic and Persian religious terms in common use among the Turkish Bektashi have been replaced, wherever possible, by native translations or equivalents not always very satisfactory.

[1] Assonances, which are characteristic of such works and probably calculated as aids to the student's memory, are noted on pp. 6, 15, and 17 of the original.

[2] Literally 'Leaves of Bektashism.'

[3] See above, pp. 539, 552.

[4] A brief glossary is given, pp. 562–3.

§ 1. *Translation*

The Bektashi believe in the Great Lord and in the true saints Mohammed Ali, Kadije, Fatima, and Hasan and Husain.

In the Twelve Imams, who are Ali, Hasan, Husain, Zein-el-Abidin, Mohammed Bakir, Jafer Sadik, Musa Kiazim, Ali Riza, Mohammed Teki, Ali Neki, Hasan Askeri, Mohammed Mehdi.

The father of them all is Ali and their mother Fatima.

They believe also in all the saints, both ancient and modern, because they believe in Good and worship it.

And as they believe in these and love them, so also do they in Moses and Miriam and Jesus and their servants.

For their first [founder] they hold Jafer Sadik and for their patron-saint [1] Haji Bektash Veli, who is descended of the same family.

All these have said, 'Do good and abstain from evil'.

In this saying the Bektashi believe.

Truth and justice, intelligence and wisdom, and all the virtues are supreme.

The faith of the Bektashi is a broad Way [2] lighted by wisdom, brotherhood, friendship, love, humanity, and all the virtues.

On one side of it are the flowers of knowledge, on the other the flowers of truth.

Without knowledge and without truth no man can become a Bektashi.

For the Bektashi the Universe is God.

But in this world man is the representative of God.

The True God, with the angels and Paradise and all that is good, are found in the virtues of man.

In his vices are found the Devil and all evil.

[1] The word used (*plak* = 'old man') is the translation of the Persian *pir*, which bears the same sense in religion.

[2] The simple Albanian word for 'way' (*udha*) is used instead of the usual Arabic *tarik*.

Therefore they love and practise good and abstain from evil.

All things are in man, yea, even the True God, since when He wished to manifest Himself, He made man in His image and likeness.

The Bektashi believe that man does not die but is only changed and made different, and is always in the presence of God, because the Father is hidden to the children.

He who does good finds good, he who does evil finds evil.

He who transgresses against humanity identifies himself with the beasts.

The Way of the Bektashi is open and broad : it is the Way of Wisdom and of goodness to all who have intelligence.

Man is not bound, but free in all respects, and he is answerable for all his acts.

But he has a mind which reasons, knowledge by which to choose, a soul which recognizes, and a heart which discerns, and a conscience which weighs all his deeds. Thus he has all that is necessary and needs no help from without. Since the Lord has granted him in himself all things of which he has need.

As the man, so is the woman, one in kind and not separated.

In very great misfortune a man may be divorced from his wife : in case of great need he may take a second wife.

In order that there may be no occasion when the wife is far from her family, the way of the Bektashi is preferable.[1]

The woman does not veil or cover her face save only with the veil of modesty.

[1] Explained as meaning ' superior to the ordinary Islamic marriage law ' because avoiding the difficulties caused by a divorce where the wife's family lives a long way off and she cannot easily return to her father's house.

In the Way of the Bektashi the faith is modesty and chastity, wisdom, and all the virtues.

Every ill deed, all vices, follies, and infidelities are forbidden and accursed in this Way.

This is the Way of God and of all the Saints.

The Bektashi have for the book of their faith the Universe, and especially mankind, because the Lord Ali once said, 'Man is the book which speaks,[1] faith consists in speech, but the ignorant have added thereto. Faith is in the heart, it is not in the written book.'

The Bektashi keeps unspotted his heart, his soul, his mind, and his conscience; and his body also, his clothes, his abode, and his dwelling, his honour, and his good name.

Not only among themselves but also with all men the Bektashi are spiritual brothers.

They love as themselves their neighbours, both Mussulman and Christian, and they conduct themselves blamelessly towards all humanity.

But more than all they love their country and their countrymen, because this is the fairest of all virtues.

The Bektashi loves humanity, helps poverty, pities and grieves from his heart: a good spirit is in him.

Because this is the Way: if he is not such, he is without the Way.

The Bektashi, that he may make a good entry into the Way, must be virtuous and perfect in all things.

Whosoever is in this Way is called a Bektashi and has no further need.

But whosoever will draw nearer obtains permission from the Father [2] and becomes an Inner [brother].[3]

[1] Note the assonance (*Nyeriu eshte fletoreya qe flet*).

[2] The 'permission' granted by the 'Father' is a kind of diploma given by the 'Baba' or head of a convent and testifying to the candidate's proficiency in the 'Way.'

[3] Or 'Esoteric'; the word is again Albanian, the corresponding Turkish term being, I am told, *dahile olan*.

The Inner [brother] must be very virtuous in all things.

Whosoever of the Inner [brethren] wishes to take the habit and become a Poor [brother], which is called *dervish*, obtains a fresh Permission from the Father.

But in this case he cannot put it off again, for it is not lawful.

The Poor [brother] must be a servant of humanity, wise, and very gentle. He must be humble, and if any man insult or strike him, he must not curse or abuse [his aggressor] but suffer it.

The Poor [brother], if he is married before he takes the habit, may remain in wedlock after his election, abiding in his family and in his house.

But when he takes the vow never to marry, he obtains a new Permission, but he cannot take back his word.

The unmarried Poor [brothers] live in a house which is called *Tekke* or *Dargah*.

They have one Chief who is called Father and Guide.

Every Poor [brother] has a task or service of his own.

The eldest of them is called Leader, and it is he who leads to the Guide those who wish to take Permissions.

When there are many Fathers, they choose one of them and make him Chief: he is called Grandfather.

There are a good number as far [advanced] as this, and the work of the Way is well completed.[1]

But sometimes there are many Grandfathers: then they choose from among them and make him Great Grandfather.

For a layman to become an Inner [brother] or for an Inner [brother] to become a Poor [brother], he must receive a Permission from the Father. For a Poor [brother] to become a Father he must receive a Permission from the Grandfather.

The Father, Grandfather, and Great Grandfather,

[1] *i.e.* an aspirant may well be content with so much progress in the Way.

who are called Guides, must all be men perfect in all things pertaining to the Way.

Whosoever obtains a Permission from the Guides enters into the Choir of the Saints, since all the saints are linked together hand in hand, and thus he enters into this company, and into the Chain of these Lords, as in a dance.

For this reason he who enters this Way leaves behind all his vices and retains only his virtues. With an unclean heart, with an evil soul, with a bad conscience, he cannot enter among the Saints who draw near to God.

Here must he know himself, for he who knows himself knows what God is.

He must be [like] a gentle lamb, not [like] a wild beast.

He must be reasonable, just, learned, lovable, and have all the virtues which are necessary to a man.

This is the Way of Virtue, of Friendship, of Wisdom, and of Brotherhood.

It is a great sin that a man should cast into this Way, full of fair and fragrant flowers, thorns and prickles, as do the ignorant.

Because this Way begins from Good and ends in Good.

The Guide who grants a Permission says: 'To-day thou hast taken the hand of God, thou hast been made one with the Saints. Therefore lay hold on Good, and be of their Way, and forget Evil. Take not where thou hast not given, honour great and small, avoid slanders, uncleannesses, perversities, and all evil; and enter into brotherhood,' &c., &c.

The Bektashi looks on the wife of his neighbour as his sister, on every poor old woman as his mother, on every poor man as his brother, and on all men as his friends.

His conscience is good, his heart full of gratitude, his soul sweet, for this Way is Good alone.

Without these things no Bektashi can exist.

Brotherhood, peace, love, virtue, nearness to God,

friendship, good conscience, and all the virtues are the lights of the Way.

Before all things love is an approach and an interpretation of the Way.

With all this, however, the Bektashi also have a kind of fast and a form of prayer.

For a fast they have the mourning they keep for the Passion of Kerbela, the first ten days of the month which is called Moharrem.

In these days some do not drink water, but this is excessive, since on the evening of the ninth day the warfare ceased, and it was not till the tenth after midday that the Imam Husain fell with his men, and then only they were without water.

For this reason the fast is kept for ten days, but abstention from water is practised only from the evening of the ninth till the afternoon of the tenth.

But let whoso will abstain also from water while he fasts.

This shows the love the Bektashi bear to all the Saints.

They have a fashion of prayer among them which is called *niyas*: this the instructed use very seldom, the others rather more often.

This prayer may be made in the houses which are called *jami*.

But in the houses of prayer they may make the other prayer, which is called *namaz*. For the Bektashi do not reject this prayer, just as they do not reject the fast of the month which is called *Ramazan*, nor any of the religious duties, since all are needful to humanity.

He who serves in a house of prayer makes betrothals and marriages, buries the dead, and performs all his services and duties.

The Bektashi before and after food pray as follows:

'O True Lord, increase and multiply, for Thou dost

nourish and conserve the Universe. All good cometh from Thee, for man and for all beasts Thou preparest the life. May Thy Goodness and Mercy never forsake us. Great Lord! Mohammed Ali! Ye Twelve Imams! All ye Saints! Haji Bektash Veli! May our prayer come before you.'

At feasts and marriages they pray thus: 'Great and True Lord, give and multiply Thy favour to mankind. Send not upon us grief and misery. Grant to us all good things. Show us the way of Righteousness, and leave us not in darkness. Blessed be Thy name now and for evermore, Lord Mohammed Ali! Kadije! Fatima! Hasan and Husain! Haji Bektash Veli! All ye Saints! May our prayers come before you.'

At betrothals they pray thus: 'True Lord, at Thy command and in Thy name! Grant concord and love, give us Thy blessing, and deliver us from evil. Grant us plenty and all good things.

In the name of David and Solomon, in the name of Aaron and Moses, and of Husain, in the name of Haji Bektash Veli, in the name of all our Lords!

In the Way of Mohammed Ali, in the teaching of the Imam Jafer Sadik!'

At a marriage they add these words: 'Unite them as Thou didst unite Adam and Eve, Mohammed and Kadije, Ali and Fatima.

Grant them life and length of days, and good and obedient children. May the Door be open for ever,' &c., &c.

At deaths they pray thus:

'Lord great and true, Thou buriest day in night and night in day. Thou leadest forth the living from the dead, and the dead from the living. All things come from Thee and return unto Thee again. Forgive the sins of mankind for Thy glory's sake! And lead us to the Light, for Thou art the Light of Light.

May our prayer come before Thee eternally,' &c., &c.

The Bektashi mourn only with tears, never with dirges and wailings.

They do not bury the dead in the grave : they mourn [them] in their hearts.

They always speak well of the dead, saying, ' May his soul shine and may it be filled with joy ! '

The Way of the Bektashi holds all men, yea, all men, friends, and looks on them as one soul and one body.

But this is recognized [only ?] by the learned and reasoning Bektashi.

The true Bektashi respect a man of whatsoever religion he may be, they hold him their brother and their beloved, they never look on him as a stranger.

They reject no religion, but respect all. Nor do they reject the books of any religion or the [doctrine of the] future life.

The Bektashi keep for a holy day Bairam, the first day of the month which is called Sheval. Their second feast is on the first ten days of the month called Dilhije, the New Day (which is called Nevruz) [1] on the tenth of March, and the eleventh of the month called Moharrem.[2] During the ten days of the Passion they read the Passions of the Imams.

The Guides, who pray and worship Truth and Goodness and reject Falsehood and Evil, and regard all mankind as one family, and love it according to the Way of Mohammed Ali—these must be men of intelligence, of great wisdom, with zeal for adequate learning, for the unlearned and perverse man is wood unhewn,[3] the unlettered is as the novice.[4]

Let the Guides be men of truth, let them be without vices such as they have now, let them have integrity,

[1] The Persian New Year's feast. [2] See above, p. 559.

[3] A widely spread Greek proverb (*ἄνθρωπος ἀγράμματος ξύλον ἀπελέκητον*) : *cf.* Polites, *Παροιμίαι*, i, 279.

[4] Note the assonance of the Albanian equivalent (*i pa dituri eshte si i mituri*).

let them forsake greed, pride and folly, drink and drunkenness, lying and injustice, and all the evils which are without the Way of Humanity.

Let them strive night and day for the nation to which the Father calls them and vouches for them that they will work with the chiefs and the notables for the salvation of Albania and the Albanians, for the education and civilization of their nation and their country, for their language, and for all progress and improvement.

Let them be peaceable, let them remember the poor, let them shun evil and folly, let them cast into the Way all works that are needful for mankind and for religion, and let them forward all things good.

Together with the chiefs and notables let them encourage love, brotherhood, unity, and friendship among all Albanians : let not the Mussulmans be divided from the Christians, and the Christians from the Mussulmans, but let both work together. Let them strain towards enlightenment, that the Albanian, who was once reputed throughout all the world, be not despised to-day.

All these things for those that have intelligence and who reason and work with zeal and with good sense are not hard tasks, but very light.

When they accomplish these things, then will I call them Fathers and Guides : but to-day I cannot so call them.[1]

§ 2. *Glossary of Albanian Religious Terms*[2]

Ata, *baba*, father.
Brendes (*dahile olan*, Tk.), interior, esoteric.
Dede (Tk.) (=*gyg*), grandfather.
Fakir (Tk.) (=*varfe*), poor, dervish.
Gyg (=*dede*), grandfather.

[1] The sentence with which the pamphlet closes contains, perhaps characteristically, an assonance (*pa sot s'u dyem dot*).

[2] Non-Albanian terms which are in everyday use among Turks are described as Turkish.—M.M.H.

Jami (Tk.), house of prayer.
Murshid (Arab.) (*udhe-rrefenies*), guide.
Niyas (Tk.), request.
Pir (Pers.) (=*plak*), old man, patron saint.
Plak (=*pir*), old man patron saint.
Shpenes, leader.
Udha (=Arab. *tarik*), way
Udhe-rrefenies (=*murshid*), guide.
Varfe (=*fakir*), poor, dervish.

XLIV

AMBIGUOUS SANCTUARIES AND BEKTASHI PROPAGANDA [1]

Introductory

THE stratification of cults at famous sanctuaries of the ancient world, reflected for the most part in their local mythology, has long been interpreted as evidence of the invasion of older by newer gods and religious systems. A religion carried by a conquering race or by a missionary priesthood to alien lands superimposes itself, by force or persuasion, on an indigenous cult; the process is expressed in mythological terms under the figure of a personal combat between the rival gods or of the 'reception' of the new god by the old.[2] Eventually either one god or the other succumbs and disappears or is relegated to an inferior position; or, again, the two may be more or less completely identified and fused. Of the religions of antiquity it is seldom possible to do more than conjecture by what methods and processes these transitions were actually carried out. The paper which follows is an attempt to examine some phenomena of the superimposition of cult in the case of a modern Mohammedan sect—the Bektashi—acting on the sanctuaries of the mixed populations of Turkey and in particular on Christian saint-cults. So far as we can see, where Bektashism has gained ground at the expense of Christianity, this has been accomplished without violence, either by processes analogous to that known to the ancient world as the 'reception' of the new god by the old, or simply by the identification of

[1] This chapter is an enlarged and corrected version of the article which appeared in *B.S.A.* xx (1913–14), pp. 94–122.

[2] See above, pp. 58 ff.

the two personalities. The 'ambiguous' sanctuary, claimed and frequented by both religions, seems to represent a distinct stage of development—the period of equipoise, as it were—in the transition both from Christianity to Bektashism and, in the rare cases where political and other circumstances are favourable, from Bektashism to Christianity.

§ 1. Bektashism and Orthodox Islam

Usurpation of alien sanctuaries seems to have played an important part in the spread of Bektashism from the beginning. In the first place it is now generally recognized that the sect acquired its present name by such a usurpation. The Anatolian saint Haji Bektash has in reality nothing to do with the doctrines of the sect which bears his name. The real founder of the so-called Bektashi was a Persian mystic named Fadlullah, and the original name of the sect Hurufi. Shortly after Fadlullah's death his disciples introduced the Hurufi doctrines to the inmates of the convent of Haji Bektash (near Kirshehr in Asia Minor) as the hidden learning of Haji Bektash himself, under the shelter of whose name the Hurufi henceforth disseminated their doctrines, which are heretical and blasphemous to orthodox Moslems.[1]

The methods used by the Hurufi-Bektashi to appropriate the sanctuary of Haji Bektash were evidently used by them elsewhere for the spread of their gospel. We may suppose that the persons administering tribal and other sanctuaries were won over, probably by more or less complete initiation into the secret learning of the Bektashi and the increase of power and prestige thereby afforded. The worshippers were satisfied by some apocryphal legend connecting their saint with Haji Bektash or a saint of his cycle,[2] and probably by an

[1] Above, p. 160.

[2] So in ancient Athens the newcomer Asklepios is foisted on the

increased output of miracles; the sanctuary with its *clientèle* would be thenceforth affiliated to the Bektashi organization. In the case of the more or less anonymous and untended saints' tombs or *dedes*, such as abound all over Turkey, the problem was still simpler. Such saints had only to be induced to reveal their true nature in dreams to Bektashi dervishes, and for the future their graves would be distinguished by Bektashi headdresses.

Crowfoot's researches among the Anatolian Shia tribes (Kizilbash) of Cappadocia have revealed the process of amalgamation in an intermediate stage.[1] At Haidar-es-Sultan, a Shia village near Angora, the eponymous saint Haidar, probably tribal in origin,[2] is identified quite irrationally under Bektashi auspices with Khoja Ahmed of Yasi, who figures in Bektashi legend as the spiritual master of Haji Bektash, and also with Karaja Ahmed, a saintly prince of Persia, who, though himself probably in origin a tribal saint, has been adopted into the Bektashi cycle.[3] The *tekke* of Haidar-es-Sultan has close relations with the Bektashi.

Similar cases of absorption by the Bektashi could probably be found without difficulty elsewhere. A probable case seems to be the great and rich convent with two hundred dervishes found by Lucas at Yatagan[4] near Denizli[5] (*vilayet* of Aidin). Tsakyroglous' list of nomad Turkish tribes includes one named *Yataganli*,

indigenous Amynos on the assumption that both were pupils of Chiron. In the case of Turkish tribal sanctuaries the propagation of such myths would be particularly easy: the tribes dimly remembered their immigration, as squatters and raiders, from the East, while the fictitious cycle of Bektashi tradition represented Haji Bektash and his companions as immigrant missionaries from the same quarter.

1 *J. R. Anthr. Inst.* xxx (1900), pp. 305 ff.

2 On Haidar-es-Sultan see above, pp. 52–3, 403.

3 See above, p. 404 and n. 6.

4 So Arundell, *Asia Minor*, ii, 142.

5 *Voyage fait en 1714*, i, 171: for the text see above, p. 508, n. 2.

which frequents the *vilayet* of Aidin.[1] The saint buried at Yatagan was in all probability the eponym of the tribe (Yatagan-Dede ?) later adopted, like Haidar, by the Bektashi. The *tekke* was one of the Bektashi convents ruined in 1826; it is now insignificant, though the tomb of Yatagan Baba survives.

Such absorption of tribal saints, whose cults are often in the hands of more or less illiterate people, is comparatively easy. The Bektashi, according to their enemies at least, were quite as successful in ousting rival religious orders. Haji Bektash himself is generally considered by the orthodox a saint of the Nakshbandi order, and since the suppression of the Bektashi in 1826 an orthodox mosque with a minaret has been built at the central *tekke* and a Nakshbandi *sheikh* quartered on the community for the performance of services in it.[2] Similarly the Nakshbandi claimed that the Bektashi had unscrupulously usurped others of their saints' tombs, including those of Ramazan Baba at Brusa and of the saint buried in the *tekke* of Kasr-el-Aini at Cairo.[3] Such usurpations, if we may believe Assad Efendi, the historian of Sultan Mahmud's campaign against the Bektashi, were numerous: under the pretext that the titles *baba* and *abdal* denoted exclusively Bektashi saints, the Bektashi appropriated the chapels and sepulchral monuments of all the saints so entitled belonging by right to the Nakshbandi, Kadri, and other orders.[4]

[1] *Περὶ Γιουρούκων*, 15: see above, p. 477.

[2] I have often found a *mesjid* or oratory in a Bektashi *tekke*, but never a mosque with proper establishment. *Mesjids* are built for the appearance of orthodoxy and for the accommodation of orthodox visitors. [At Asim Baba's *tekke* in Argyrokastro, Albania, the Nakshbandi *taj* with its four segments is still worn over the usual Bektashi headdress: see above, p. 541.—M. M. H.].

[3] For this saint, see above, pp. 229–30, 516.

[4] Assad Efendi, *Destr. des Janissaires* (1833), p. 300. The Albanian Bektashi seem to lay claim to such saints as Shems Tabrizi, Nasr-ed-din

§ 2. Bektashism and Christianity in Asia Minor

We have thus found evidence of Bektashi encroachments on tribal sanctuaries and on the holy places of other orders. More interesting is their procedure in the case of Christian churches and saints' tombs ; they have not only laid claim to Christian sanctuaries, but have also in return thrown open the doors of their own to Christians.[1] This is the more remarkable since Christians in Turkish lands are much less protected by public opinion than are orthodox Moslem sects like the Nakshbandi.

The numerous points of contact between Bektashism and Christianity have been set forth at length by Jacob.[2] The only historical evidence of overt propaganda among Christians is to be found in the accounts of the rebellion of Bedr-ed-din of Simav,[3] in the early years of the fifteenth century, which can hardly have been unconnected with the Bektashi-Hurufi sect, though this is nowhere explicitly stated. The rebellion was partly a religious, partly a social movement : the programme included the Bektashi-Hurufi doctrines of religious fusion and community of goods. An enthusiastic welcome was extended to Christian proselytes and proclamation was made to the effect that any Turk who denied true religion in the Christians was himself irreligious. A special manifesto on these lines, carried by a dervish deputation to a Cretan monk resident in Chios, was successful in winning him to the cause.[4] The pro-

Khoja of Akshehr, and Haji Bairam (founder of the *Bairami* order) of Angora (Degrand, *Haute Albanie*, p. 230).

[1] *Cf.* de Vogüé, *Hist. Orient.*, p. 198. [2] *Bektaschijje*, pp. 29 ff.

[3] Ducas, p. 112 B ; Hammer-Hellert, *Hist. Emp. Ott.* ii, 181 ff.

[4] The text is given by Ducas. The leader of the rebels sent to the Cretan, saying: *κἀγὼ συνασκητής σού εἰμι, καὶ τῷ θεῷ ᾧ λατρεύεις, ἐκείνῳ κἀγὼ τὴν προσκύνησιν φέρω*. With this compare the conduct of the Hurufi dervish met in Chios about the same time by George of Hungary, who 'intrabat ecclesiam christianorum, et

Christian tendencies of the rebels were evidently recognized by the Turks in the punishment eventually meted out to their leader, who was crucified.

Liberal theory, however, can have little real hold on the imagination of the masses. For the illiterate, whether Moslem or Christian, doctrine is important mainly as embodying a series of prohibitions: their vital and positive religion is bound up with the cult of the saints and demands concrete objects of worship, especially graves and relics,[1] and above all miracles, to sustain its faith. It is in the cult of the saints that the Bektashi propaganda amongst Christians has left most trace. The lines adopted are identical with, or parallel to, those followed, according to the theory propounded elsewhere,[2] by the Mevlevi order of dervishes at Konia in the Middle Ages for a similar purpose. On the one hand, Moslem sanctuaries are made 'ambiguous', or accessible to Christians also, by the circulation of legends to the effect (1) that a saint worshipped by Moslems as

signabat se signo crucis, et aspergebat se aqua benedicta, et dicebat manifeste, uestra lex est ita bona sicut nostra est' (*De Moribus Turcorum*, cap. xx).

[1] The enormous potency of graves and buried saints in popular religion is pointed out in regard to the Holy Places of Islam by Burckhardt. Though the visit to the Prophet's tomb at Medina is optional and the pilgrimage to the Kaaba at Mecca obligatory, the tomb of the Prophet inspires the people of Medina with much more respect than the Kaaba does those at Mecca, visitors crowd with more zeal and eagerness to the former shrine than the latter, and more decorum is observed in its precincts. At Mecca itself men will swear lightly by the Kaaba, but not by the grave of Abu Taleb (*Arabia*, i, 235; ii, 195, 197). A Mecca merchant said to Niebuhr (*Voyage en Arabie*, i, 350) that 'à Mochha je me fierois peu à un homme, qui affirme quelque chose en prenant le nom de Dieu à témoin: mais je puis compter sur la foi de celui, qui jure par le nom de *Schaedeli*, dont la moschée, et le tombeau, sont devant ses yeux'. Clermont-Ganneau, *Pal. Inconnue*, pp. 55–6, found men frequently broke their oath by God, their life, their head or yours, the Temple, or the Sakhra, but almost never their oath by the local saint.

[2] Above, pp. 371 ff.

a Moslem was secretly converted to Christianity, or (2) that the Moslem saint's mausoleum is shared by a Christian. On the other hand, Christian sanctuaries are made accessible to Moslems by (3) the identification of the Christian saint with a Moslem. These three schemes may be called for brevity 'conversion', 'intrusion', and 'identification': for the latter process use is often made on the Moslem side of a somewhat vague personage—at Konia Plato—as a 'lay-figure' capable of assimilation to various Christian saints.

In Turkey, particularly in parts where the average peasant intelligence and general culture are of a low order and the difference between Christian and Moslem is not acutely felt, it is usual for any sanctuary reputed for its miracles to be frequented by both religions.[1] The 'conversion', 'intrusion', and 'identification' schemes are devised to accentuate this natural point of contact between the two religions and to put it on a logical footing. The idea of metempsychosis, which is often implied by 'identification', though foreign to Orthodox Christian thought, is widely current in the Shia forms of Islam.[2]

For Asia Minor the 'lay-figure' saint of the Bektashi is possibly the protean Khidr.[3] Khidr is reverenced in a vague way by all Moslems, who often identify him with S. George. He has a special prominence among the Kizilbash of Asia Minor,[4] whose connexion with the Bektashi is obscure but well authenticated. The Kizilbash Kurds of the Dersim recognize the Armenian saint

[1] In this assimilation language is an important factor. The phenomena here mentioned occur markedly in central Asia Minor, where all races speak Turkish, and in Albania, where all religions speak Albanian.

[2] The Persian Shah Abbas held firmly that Ali, S. George, and S. James of Compostella were identical (P. della Valle, *Viaggi*, ii, 257 f.).

[3] For Khidr see above, pp. 319–36.

[4] White, *Trans. Vict. Inst.* xxxix (1907), p. 156; *cf.* Jerphanion in *Byz. Zeit.* xx, 493. The same is true of the Nosairi (R. Dussaud, *Nosairis*, pp. 128–35).

Sergius as identical with Khidr[1] and make pilgrimage to Armenian churches of S. Sergius as to sanctuaries of Khidr.[2] Farther west, among Greek populations who hold S. Sergius of less importance than do the Armenians, the connexion generally admitted by Moslems between Khidr and S. George and S. Elias has probably served its turn. At the *tekke* of Sheikh Elwan in Pontus Khidr seems certainly to have supplanted S. Theodore,[3] who, as a cavalier and a dragon-slayer, approximates to S. George. Though we cannot as yet definitely ascribe to the Bektashi this transference from Christianity to Islam, the locality falls well within the range of their influence.

The more ignorant the populations concerned, the farther such identifications can be pressed. The Kizil-bash Kurds, who possess in all probability a strong admixture of Armenian blood, equate Ali to Christ, the Twelve Imams to the Twelve Apostles, and Hasan and Husain to SS. Peter and Paul.[4] The conversion of illiterate Christians, always aided by material attractions, becomes fatally easy under the influences of this accommodating form of Islam.

Apparent examples of such religious fusion under Bektashi auspices are to be found in the following Anatolian cults.

i.—*Haji Bektash Tekke, near Kirshehr*

This, the central *tekke* of the Bektashi order, is frequented by Christians, who claim that the site was once occupied by a Christian monastery of S. Charalambos.[5] On entering the mausoleum (*turbe*) where Haji Bektash lies buried Christians

[1] Grenard, *Journ. Asiat.* iii (1904), p. 518.

[2] Molyneux Seel, *Geog. Journ.* xliv (1914), p. 66. The Armenians are said to confuse SS. Sergius and George (P. della Valle, *Viaggi*, ii, 258).

[3] Anderson, *Stud. Pont.* i, 9 ff.; *cf.* iii, 207 ff. See further above, pp. 47 ff.

[4] Molyneux Seel, *loc. cit.*

[5] Levides, *Μοναὶ τῆς Καππαδοκίας*, see above, pp. 83–4.

make the sign of the cross : they are said to identify the tomb with that of S. Charalambos, who, however, has no connexion with Cappadocia. The identification has taken firm hold, but it seems proved that it is not of great antiquity by the account of the archbishop Cyril (1815), who equates Haji Bektash, not to S. Charalambos, but to S. Eustathius,[1] probably on the ground of some stag story.[2]

The central Bektashi *tekke* is thus a holy place, not only for the heretical Mussulman sect which possesses and administers it, but for orthodox Mussulmans, who hold Haji Bektash for a Nakshbandi saint and venerate him accordingly, and for Christians, who claim that site and tomb were originally Christian. This state of things is almost exactly paralleled at the central shrine of the Yezidi 'devil-worshippers' which contains the grave of their alleged founder, Sheikh Adi. Orthodox Mussulmans abhor the religion of the Yezidi, but venerate the historical Sheikh Adi, whom they regard as an orthodox saint of the sixth century of their era ; the local (Nestorian) Christians hold that the site of the Yezidi sanctuary was originally occupied by a Christian monastery of S. Addai (? or Addaeus of Edessene legend) and subsequently usurped by one Adi, a renegade monk, who is credited with evolving the religion actually practised by the modern Yezidi.[3]

ii.—*Haidar-es-Sultan Tekke, near Angora* [4]

Haidar, the Moslem saint buried here, is identified under Bektashi auspices with Khoja Ahmed (Karaja Ahmed ?), a disciple [5] of Haji Bektash, who is said to have settled here with his wife, a Christian woman, named Mēne, from Caesarea. Local Moslem tradition holds that the *tekke* occupies the site of a Christian monastery.[6] The connexion with the Bektashi is obvious from the legend : the village is Kizilbash or Shia, and as such under their religious authority.[7]

1 See above, p. 84, n.7. 2 See above, p. 85.

3 W. B. Heard, in *J. R. Anthr. Inst.* xli, 202 f. : *cf.* Hume Griffith, *Behind the Veil in Persia*, p. 291.

4 See above, pp. 52, 403.

5 A local error, see above, p. 404.

6 Crowfoot in *J. R. Anthr. Inst.* xxx (1900), pp. 305–20.

7 On this point see further White in *Trans. Vict. Inst.* xl (1908), p. 235. For the Kizilbash see above, pp. 139 ff.

iii.—*Tekke of Sidi Battal, near Eskishehr* [1]

This dervish convent, which has been in the hands of the Bektashi at least since the sixteenth century,[2] claims to possess the tomb of the Arab hero Sidi Battal Ghazi; beside him reposes his wife, who was, according to tradition, a Christian princess.[3]

iv.—*Shamaspur Tekke, Alaja (Paphlagonia)*

Local Moslems say of this (Bektashi) *tekke* that it was an old Greek monastery.[4] The saint buried there is Husain Ghazi, the father of Sidi Battal.[5] The name of the *tekke*, however, seems to connect it also with *Shamas*, who figures in Turkish legend as the governor of a castle near Kirshehr, slain in single combat by Sidi Battal: [6] this is a popular rendering and localization of an incident in the Romance of Sidi Battal, in which *Schâmas*, brother of the governor of Amorium, is slain by the hero.[7] In this same romance the hero converts to Islam a monk named *Schûmas*.[8] It is tempting to suppose that from these materials a Christian figure, somewhat analogous to the 'monk' or 'bishop' buried in the *tekke* of the Mevlevi at Konia,[9] has been manufactured and intruded on the Shamaspur *tekke*.

[1] For this *tekke* see below, pp. 705–10.

[2] Here also there must for chronological reasons have been a usurpation by the Bektashi if the traditional account of the discovery of Sidi Battal's remains by a Seljuk princess is allowed. A legend is told at the *tekke* of a visit of Haji Bektash to the place, and to confirm it, marks of his hands and teeth are shown on the walls of the buildings (Mordtmann, *Φιλολ. Σύλλογος, Παράρτημα τοῦ θ' τόμου*, p. xv). Other Bektashi legends connecting the convent with Haji Bektash or his early followers are given by Jacob (*Beiträge*, p. 13) from Evliya.

[3] See below, p. 706.

[4] Hamilton, *Asia Minor*, i, 402 f.: H. J. Ross, *Letters from the East*, p. 243; Wilson, in Murray's *Asia Minor*, p. 36. The *tekke* is also mentioned as a place of miraculous healing by Prof. White, *Trans. Vict. Inst.* xxxix, 159.

[5] For the latter see below, p. 709.

[6] Ainsworth, *Travels*, i, 157.

[7] Ethé, *Fahrten des Sajjid Batthâl*, i, 27: *cf.* below, p. 711.

[8] *Ibid.*, p. 21; *Shamas* is the Arabic for *deacon*.

[9] See above, p. 86.

v.—*Tekke of Nusr-ed-din, Zile (Pontus)*

This *tekke* is venerated by Christians, apparently as containing the tomb of the Forty Martyrs of Sebaste. It was formerly called Kirklar Tekke ('Convent of the Forty') and is thought by Grégoire to have had a Christian past under that title.[1] The isolated position of the *tekke* in a strongly Shia district almost warrants the assumption that it is connected with the Bektashi.

vi.—*S. Nerses, Rumkale*

This ancient Armenian church was occupied by Mohammedans in the latter part of the seventeenth century 'afin de donner à entendre par là qu'ils reverent les Saints, & que celuy auquel cette Eglise est dediée, estoit de leur party, & Musulman comme eux'.[2] Rumkale is on the Upper Euphrates, not far from the country of the Kizilbash Kurds, who have, as already said, a religious connexion with the Bektashi.

vii.—*Chapel at Adalia*

Savary de Brèves found at Adalia a cave-chapel still retaining traces of Christian frescoes, in which was shown the tomb of a Christian hermit. The latter, according to the Turks, had on his death-bed confessed himself a Mussulman, and on this account received from Mussulmans the honour due to one of their own saints.[3] The Bektashi order has at the present day an establishment at Adalia.

viii.—'*Tomb of S. Polycarp*,' *Smyrna*

The history of this cult is discussed at length elsewhere.[4] It has been, as far back as it can be traced, Moslem in form, and appears first in Moslem hands. S. Polycarp was formerly claimed as a saint of their own by the dervishes in charge of the tomb, who are shown by the Bektashi headdress on an adjoining grave to have been at some time members of this order. A supposed mitre of the saint was shown to pilgrims.[5]

[1] *B.C.H.*, 1909, pp. 25 ff.; *cf.* above, pp. 49–50.

[2] M. Febvre, *Théâtre de la Turquie* (1682), p. 46: see also above, p. 53.

[3] *Voyages* (Paris, 1628), p. 23 (quoted in full above, p. 74, n. 2). For a similar legendary conversion, but to Christianity, of an ambiguous saint, *cf.* above, p. 376.

[4] Above, pp. 406 ff. (reprinted from *B.S.A.* xx, 80 ff.).

[5] *Cf.* no. xii below (Eski Baba).

ix.—'*Tomb of S. Theodore*,' *near Benderegli* (*Herakleia Pontica*)

A *turbe* (mausoleum) on a hill above Arapli, a few miles west of Benderegli, is visited yearly by Christians as containing the tomb of S. Theodore *Stratelates*.[1]

The *turbe* seems to be a humble wooden erection and contains two outwardly Turkish tombs,[2] attributed by the Greeks to S. Theodore and his disciple Varro,[3] and by the Turks to a warrior saint named Ghazi Shahid Mustafa and his son. These are tended by a Turkish woman, who receives offerings from pilgrims of both religions in the shape of money and candles.[4]

The connexion of this ambiguous cult with the Bektashi cannot be pressed, but there is a village bearing the name *Beteshler* (interpreted by von Diest as *Bektashler*, 'the Bektashis') in the vicinity.[5]

x.—*Mamasun Tekke* (*Ziaret Kilise*) *near Nevshehr*

This sanctuary was discovered, apparently in the last century,[6] by a series of 'miraculous' accidents, in a barn belonging to an

[1] P. Makris, *Ἡρακλεία τοῦ Πόντου*, pp. 115 ff. See above, pp. 88–9.

[2] Makris describes them as *δύο ξύλινα κιβώτια ἅπερ εἶνε φέρετρα*, adding '*πρὸς τὸ μέρος τῆς κεφαλῆς φέρουσι κιδάρεις* [turbans] *καὶ μέγα κομβολόγιον* [rosary].'

[3] 'Varro' (*Οὐάρρων*) does not figure in the orthodox legend of S. Theodore: Makris speaks of an ancient inscription formerly kept at the site; it possibly contained the name.

[4] A similar mixed cult of S. Theodore and 'un santon dit "Gaghni"' in Pontus was reported by Père Girard to Cumont, but without details (*Stud. Pont.* ii, 143, note 3).

[5] Von Diest, *Perg. zum Pontus*, i, 81. *Betesh* or *Petesh* seems to be the original form of *Bektash*. In George of Hungary's *De Moribus Turcorum* (cap. xv: see p. 496), written in the middle of the fifteenth century, the saint is called *Hatschi Pettesch* (translated *adiutorius peregrinationis*). The form *Bektash* seems to depend on a false etymology from *geubek* ('navel') and *tash* ('stone') as Leake betrays: 'The Bektashli are so called from a Cappadocian sheikh who wore a stone upon his navel' (*N. Greece*, iv, 284).

[6] It is not mentioned in the Archbishop Cyril's *Περιγραφή* (1815) or indicated in his map (1812) which generally marks even purely Moslem *tekkes* of importance. For a full account of this sanctuary see above, pp. 43–5: for the relevant texts see pp. 759–61.

inhabitant of the (purely Turkish) village of Mamasun. The rock-cut Christian church discovered was attributed to S. Mamas, probably on account of the name of the village, and has been adapted for the ambiguous modern cult. At the east end is a Holy Table, at which itinerant Christian priests are allowed to officiate, and a picture of S. Mamas, while in the south wall is a niche (*mihrab*) giving the orientation of Mecca to Turkish pilgrims. There is no partition between Christian and Moslem worshippers, but the latter, while at their prayers, are allowed to turn the picture from them. The sanctuary is administered by dervishes.

An analysis of these ten cases of ambiguous sanctuaries in Asia Minor gives the following results:

1. Connexion with the Bektashi is established in five cases (i, ii, iii, iv, viii). The remainder of the sanctuaries are situated within the area of Bektashi activities and are not known to be in other hands.

2. Christian saints are claimed as Moslem by the 'conversion' or analogous *motifs* in four, possibly five, cases (v (?), vi, vii, viii, x).

3. Apparently Moslem saints are claimed as Christian by 'identification' in two cases (i, ix). Moslem sanctuaries have a Christian side developed by 'intrusion' in two, possibly three, cases (ii, iii (?), iv).

§ 3. Bektashism and Christianity in Europe

The 'lay-figure' of Bektashi propaganda amongst the Christians of Rumeli is Sari Saltik,[1] whose elaborate legend has been discussed elsewhere.[2] Sari Saltik, originally, as I believe, a tribal saint,[3] is identified in a general

[1] Khidr [Khizr] also has an importance, at present ill-defined, for Albanian Bektashism (Durham, *Burden of the Balkans*, p. 208).

[2] *B.S.A.* xix, 203 ff.: *cf.* above, pp. 429 ff.

[3] This idea, put forward tentatively in *B.S.A.* xix, gains weight from the following considerations: (1) Colour-adjectives ('black,' 'white,' 'red,' 'blue') like *Sari* ('yellow') are often prefixed to tribal names, possibly alluding to the distinctive colouring or marking of the

way with S. Nicolas, and seems to have occupied a certain number of churches dedicated to that saint in eastern Turkey in Europe. These can all be brought into relation with the earliest cycle of the Sari Saltik myth, which concerns itself with his apocryphal adventures in Europe, and ends with his death and the miraculous transformation of his body into *seven* bodies, four of which were buried in Turkish territory (Thrace, Bulgaria, Rumania, Crimea ?) and three in Christian Europe (Bohemia, Danzig, Sweden).[1] In a variant version, from a manuscript discovered by Degrand at Tirana, *forty* bodies of Sari Saltik are found after his death ; one of these is singled out by a miracle as the genuine corpse and buried in a circle composed of the other thirty-nine.[2] This variant suggests that a pretext was needed for the usurpation of some cult of 'the Forty'.[3] In the western section, which appears to have been touched by

herds of sections of a divided tribe. (2) A town in the Crimea named *Baba Saltuk* after a 'diviner' (*i. e.* a tribal holy man ?) is mentioned by Ibn Batuta (tr. Sanguinetti, ii, 416, 445), and Baba Dagh, the starting-point of the Sari Saltik of Bektashi tradition, was colonized by Tatars, probably from the Crimea. (3) *Saltaklu* appears as a village-name near Eski Baba in Thrace, and *Saltik* in Phrygia near Sandikli. (4) It is obvious that *Saltik*, like *Betesh* (above, p. 575, note 5), means nothing to the ordinary Turk, by the frequent attempts to produce an etymology for it. *Sari Saltik* is variously rendered 'The Blond Apostle' (Ippen, *Skutari*, p. 72) ; 'the Yellow Corpse' (λεύψανον), which was the explanation offered me by the Abbot of S. Naum (see below, no. xx) ; 'Yellow Pate' (Bargrave, in Bodleian *Cod. Rawlinson*, C. 799, f. 50 *vso.*) ; 'Yellow Jacket' was the translation offered me by a *bey* of Okhrida ; a still more complicated derivation, from *salmak* ('dismiss'), is given from a native source by Degrand (*Haute Albanie*, p. 240).

[1] This version is set down by the seventeenth-century traveller Evliya Efendi on the authority of the dervishes of Kilgra (*Travels*, ii, 70–72 : see above, p. 429).

[2] Degrand, *Haute Albanie*, p. 242 : the MS. is said by Jacob to be the *Vilayetnameh* of Hajim Sultan (*Beiträge*, p. 2, n. 4). See further above, p. 437.

[3] On this point see above, p. 437, and n. 5.

Bektashi propaganda a good deal later than the eastern and now contains in Albania the chief stronghold of the sect, Sari Saltik is identified with the Christian saints Naum and Spyridon. The corresponding cycle of the Sari Saltik myth now current in Albania makes that country the exclusive scene of the saint's activity. He appears at Kruya, where he slays a dragon, and in the sequel, to escape persecution, crosses miraculously to Corfu, where he dies.[1] To the date and bearing of this part of the legend we have already referred.[2]

The following ambiguous sanctuaries may be cited from the European area :

xi.—*Tekke of Sari Saltik, Kilgra (Bulgaria)*

This Bektashi sanctuary (now abandoned), on the promontory of Kilgra (Kaliakra) in Bulgaria, was held by its former dervish occupants to have been the scene of Sari Saltik's fight with the dragon, and one of the seven places where he was buried.[3] Local Christians now hold that it contains the tomb of S. Nicolas, with whom it may have been associated in Byzantine times ; for the Turks the saint worshipped there is now known as Haji Baba.[4]

xii.—*Tekke at Eski Baba (Thrace)*

The Bektashi in charge of this sanctuary in the seventeenth century identified the saint buried in it with their own Sari Saltik and the Christian S. Nicolas.[5] The *tekke* is said to be a former Christian church and is to this day frequented by Christians.[6] A mitre and other relics, alleged to have belonged

[1] Degrand, *Haute Albanie*, p. 240. [2] Above, p. 436.

[3] See above, p. 430.

[4] Jireček, in *Arch. Epigr. Mitth.* x (1886), pp. 188 f.: 'Am äussersten Ende gibt es neben dem Leuchtthurm vier kleinere, künstlich ausgeglättete und mit gemeisselten Sitzen versehene Höhlenräume, die wie Wohnzimmer untereinander verbunden sind. Eine mit einer niederen Umfassung zugemauerte Ecke darin gilt den Christen als Grab des heil. Nikola, den Türken als das des "Hadji Baba".' See also above, p. 51.

[5] Above, pp. 54–6.

[6] M. Christodoulos, *Περιγραφὴ Σαράντα Ἐκκλησιῶν*, p. 47 : *Τὸ ἀρχαῖον ὄνομα ἀντικατέστη διὰ τοῦ σήμερον ἐκ τοῦ τάφου πολιού-*

to S. Nicolas, were formerly shown here, but were not accepted as genuine by the Christians.[1]

xiii.—*Tekke of Binbiroglu Ahmed Baba, Bunar Hisar (Thrace)*

Macintosh in 1836 found just east of Bunar Hisar 'a cemetery distinguished by a tower-shaped building with a dome roof, *said to be a remnant of an ancient Greek church, dedicated to St. Nicholas*, but now the burying-place of a wealthy Turkish proprietor'.[2] Boué, who describes the already deserted *tekke* of this day (1837), speaks of the saint as a 'général Achmed' who was regarded as the conqueror of the country.[3] Bektashi saints in Rumeli are often represented as early *ghazis*. The full name of the saint, and that of the order to which the *tekke* belonged (Bektashi), are given by Jochmus, who visited the place in 1847.[4] The 'ambiguous' character of the sanctuary is betrayed, in the light of Albanian and other parallels,[5] by Macintosh's words.

χου Δερβίση (Βαβᾶ) χαίροντος ὑπόληψιν παρὰ Τούρκοις τε καὶ Χριστιανοῖς κειμένου ἐν τῷ παρὰ τῇ κώμῃ εἰς Τεκὲν μεταβληθέντι ἀρχαίῳ Ναῷ τοῦ Ἁγίου Νικολάου ἐν ᾧ καὶ κατῴκει. I was told in 1907 that Christians still frequented the *tekke*; see above, p. 55, n. 6.

[1] S. Gerlach, *Tage-Buch*, p. 5: 'Diese Waffen, sprechen die Türcken, habe *St. Niclaus* geführet: Die Griechen aber sprechen, die Türcken habens nur hinein gehänget.' *Cf.* also Arsenij Černojevič (A.D. 1683) in Bury, *E. Roman Empire*, p. 345. For a more detailed description see above, pp. 430 ff. and for relevant texts see below, pp. 761–3.

[2] *Military Tour*, i, 73.

[3] *Itinéraires*, i, 132: 'On n'y voit plus qu'un pays couvert de broussailles, au milieu duquel il y a une petite mosquée et vis-à-vis un bâtiment carré entouré d'une muraille. La mosquée n'est que le monument qui recèle les restes du général Achmed, le conquérant de ce pays, et ceux de quelques uns de ses parents. Une natte entoure le tombeau afin qu'on puisse y prier. Un cimetière est autour de cet édifice, qui est un lieu de pélerinage et le bâtiment carré sert à héberger alors les dévots.' The *tekke* was probably one of those put down in 1826, and is now a *chiftlik* or farm.

[4] *J.R.G.S.* xxiv (1854), p. 44; for the inscription in 'Ancient Syrian' letters see above, p. 519, n. 4.

[5] Especially nos. xviii, xix, below.

xiv.—*Tekke of Akyazili Baba, near Balchik (Rumania)*

Though it is nowhere distinctly stated, this *tekke* was in the hands of the Bektashi, as a Varna resident informed me, in 1914. The saint, who appears to have been purely Moslem in origin,[1] developed a Christian side as S. Athanasius, who, under present conditions, seems in a fair way to usurp all the honours of the place.[2]

xv.—*S. Eusebia, Selymbria (Thrace)*

What seems, in the light of modern developments in Albania,[3] to be a corresponding adoption of a Christian saint by the Bektashi is noted by Cantimir in Thrace, a former stronghold of the order. 'At Selymbria are preserved entire', he says, 'the remains of S. Euphemia: the Turks call her *Cadid*, and visit her out of curiosity.'[4] The allusion is to the body of S. (ὁσία) Xene (in religion Eusebia) of Mylasa, which is still preserved in the church of the Virgin at Selymbria.[5] Here, as in Albania, if our supposition is correct, the Bektashi have selected an ancient church containing the tangible relics of a popular saint, whom they have re-named for the purposes of their propaganda.

[1] He was possibly tribal: a village named Akyazili formerly existed in Bulgaria (Jireček, in *Arch. Epigr. Mitth.* x (1886), p. 161), and there is a village Akyazi in Bithynia.

[2] Kanitz, *Bulgarie*, pp. 474 ff.; Jireček, *Bulgarien*, p. 533: *cf. Arch. Epigr. Mitth.* x (1886), p. 182; J. Nikolaos, Ὀδησσός, pp. 248–50. I was told by a local resident that during the last war the crescent on the *turbe* had been displaced in favour of a cross by the Bulgarian priest of the village. The development of this cult is discussed in detail above, p. 90–2: original texts are given below, pp. 763 ff.

[3] Below, nos. xx, xxi.

[4] *Hist. Emp. Oth.* i, 121. Turks or Greeks will of course frequent any miraculous shrine for cure irrespective of religion; the renaming stamps this case as peculiar. Von Hammer (*Hist. Emp. Ott.* iii, 14) translates *Cadid* by *momie*, but I can find no authority for this.

[5] S. Xene figures in the *Synaxaria* of 24 Jan. Her relics at Selymbria are mentioned already in 1614 by Pietro della Valle (*Viaggi*, i, 17) and in modern times are one of the attractions of a frequented Orthodox pilgrimage, *cf.* Prodikos, in Θρᾳκικὴ Ἐπετηρίς, i, 68; Anon., in Ξενοφάνης, iii, 256, 322. A distaff and other belongings of the saint are

xvi.—*Ainos (Thrace), Tekke of Yunuz Baba*

A cruciform domed building, apparently of Christian origin, on the outskirts of Ainos is called by the Turks the *tekke* of Yunuz Baba and by the Christians the church of S. Euplous.[1] Thrace was notoriously a stronghold of Bektashism down to the fall of the Janissaries (1826) and Ainos was a garrisoned fortress. *Baba* is the usual saint's title and Yunuz ('Jonas') a favourite name among the Bektashi, perhaps on account of the famous Bektashi saint Emrem Yunuz.[2]

S. Euplous, a Sicilian saint, though his memory is venerated by the Orthodox (11 Aug.) is a most unusual patron for a Greek church. We may possibly explain his presence at Ainos by the assumption that he is a derivative of Yunuz Baba. The (verbal) connexion of the name of S. Euplous with the sea is obvious, and Yunuz (Jonas) is equally easily so connected.[3]

In the western section of Turkey in Europe, which includes Albania, the great stronghold of Bektashism to-day, many ambiguous sanctuaries besides those here set down probably await discovery, since the Moslems of Albania represent to a very large extent Christian populations converted, some only nominally, at various dates.[4] They are generally considered lax Mohammedans, and share much of the superstition of their Christian compatriots. The Tosks are largely Shia.[5]

also shown; such relics are comparatively rare in Orthodoxy, exceedingly common in popular Islam.

[1] Lambakis, in *Δελτίον Χριστ. Ἀρχαιολ. Ἑταιρείας*, H, 28.

[2] It may be more than a coincidence that a Pasha named Yunuz conquered the town of Ainos for Mohammed II, but did not die there (Hammer-Hellert, *Hist. Emp. Ott.* iii, 28). Here is quite sufficient foundation for a dervish legend of a *ghazi* saint.

[3] *Cf.* the case of Yunuz Baba at Constantinople, who is also called 'Deniz Abdal', 'the fool (-saint) of the sea', and is believed to have walked on the sea (Carnoy and Nicolaides, *Folklore de Constantinople*, p. 135).

[4] For the conversion of Albania see above, p. 439.

[5] Ibrahim Manzour, *Mémoires*, p. xvii. A false prophet, claiming to be an incarnation of Ali, appeared in Albania in 1607 (*Ambassade de J. de Gontaut-Biron*, Paris, 1889, p. 138).

For Albanian Christians the material inducements to become at least nominally Mussulmans have always been great. A more promising field for Bektashi propaganda could hardly be found.

The following ambiguous sanctuaries may be cited from the western area, all demonstrably depending on the propaganda of the Bektashi. The historical background of their development will be discussed later.

xvii.—*Tekke of Turbe Ali Sultan, Rini, near Velestino* [1] *(Thessaly)*

This, the last remaining Bektashi convent in 'old' Greece, is visited by Christians as a sanctuary of S. George, and a 'tradition' is current that it occupies the site of a Christian monastery dedicated to that saint. There is no trace of previous Christian occupation.[2]

xviii.—*Tekke of Sersem Ali, Kalkandelen*

The Bektashi saint supposed to be buried here is identified by local Christians with S. Elias, apparently on no other grounds than the similarity between the names *Ali* and *Elias*.[3] The history of the foundation will be discussed below.

xix.—*Tekke of Karaja Ahmed, near Uskub*

This (Bektashi) *tekke*, near the present station of Alexandrovo (between Uskub and Kumanovo), has been described at some length by Evans, who notes that it was in Turkish times frequented by Christians on S. George's day.[4] The identification of Karaja Ahmed [5] with S. George has taken such hold on the Christian population that since the Balkan war and the Serbian conquest of the district the sanctuary has been formally claimed for Christianity by the erection of a cross, though the dervish in charge has not been evicted.[6]

[1] South of the station Aivali, between Velestino and Pharsala: see above, p. 531. [2] F. W. H. [3] F. W. H.

[4] *J.H.S.* xxi, 202 ff.; *cf. Archaeologia*, xlix, 110: *cf.* above, pp. 274–7.

[5] Karaja Ahmed is a regular Bektashi 'intrusion' figure of the same type as Sari Saltik: see above, p. 405.

[6] From a local Mohammedan informant (1914).

xx.—*Monastery of S. Naum on Lake Okhrida*

This monastery, containing the tomb of the saint, one of the seven apostles of the Slavs, is known to local Moslems generally as Sari Saltik, with whom the Christian saint is identified ;[1] the Bektashi of the adjoining (Koritza) district make pilgrimage to the tomb. Already in the twenties of the last century Walsh remarks that ' the Turks claim S. Naoum as a holy man of their religion ',[2] and von Hahn in the 'sixties found a prayer-carpet kept at the tomb for the benefit of Moslem pilgrims : [3] this carpet, not being a necessary, or even a usual, feature of a Moslem cult, was probably considered, or on its way to be considered, a personal relic of the saint. While I was at S. Naum (1914), the Greek abbot, to whom I am indebted for information on the relations of the Bektashi with the monastery, told me that he had received a visit from the abbot of one of the Bektashi *tekkes* at Koritza, who told him that Sari Saltik, on a visit to the monastery, had, with the Christian abbot, miraculously crossed the lake to Okhrida on a straw-mat (ψάθα). Such miraculous journeys, generally made on prayer-rugs, are a regular *motif* of dervish stories.[4] The introduction of Okhrida may indicate the beginning of an adoption by the Bektashi of the church and tomb of S. Clement in the latter town.

xxi.—*S. Spyridon, Corfu*

S. Spyridon, as we have said, is one of the Christian saints identified by the Bektashi with their own apostle Sari Saltik ;[5] this explains the introduction of Corfu, where S. Spyridon's body is preserved in the cathedral, into the Kruya cycle of Sari

[1] According to one Bektashi tradition, Sari Saltik settled at the monastery, converted, *and eventually succeeded to*, the Christian abbot. This is a mild edition of the earlier episode at Danzig (above, p. 429).

[2] *Constantinople*, ii, 376 ; *cf.* E. Spencer, *Travels*, ii, 76.

[3] *Drin und Wardar*, p. 108.

[4] The incident occurs in the ' first edition ' of the Sari Saltik legend, where the saint and his companions cross in this way to Europe, and in a version of the Kruya-Corfu cycle told me by the sheikh at the *tekke* of Turbe Ali ; in this latter story the dervish's habit (ῥάσο = *khirka*) was the vehicle. For the theme in Christian and other hagiologies see Saintyves, *Saints Successeurs des Dieux*, p. 254, and above, pp. 285–7.

[5] See above, p. 436, n. 4.

Saltik's adventures.[1] Albanian Bektashi are said to make pilgrimage to the saint in Corfu.[2]

xxii.—*Athens, Tekke at Entrance to Acropolis*

A *tekke* immediately above the Odeum of Herodes is shewn in several early prints and existed down to the War of Independence: the dervish order to which it belonged is nowhere stated, but it seems probable that *tekkes* in this and similar positions with regard to garrisoned fortresses served as chapels or 'lodges' for the Janissaries during the connexion of the latter body with the Bektashi.

Pittakys in 1835 writes of the *tekke* in question: 'les habitants rapportent que là où avant la révolution grecque était une mosquée (τεκές) existait auparavant une église consacrée aux saints Anargyri'.[3] A *tekke* containing two saints' graves, if it had a reputation for miracles of healing, might easily be identified by the Orthodox with a sanctuary of the doctor-saints, Cosmas and Damian, whether or not the site had originally been consecrated to them.

An analysis of these twelve ambiguous sanctuaries in Europe gives the following results:

1. Connexion with the Bektashi is established in nine cases (xi, xii, xiii, xvii, xviii, xix, xx, xxi, xxii).

2. Bektashi sanctuaries are made accessible to Christians by 'identification' in six cases (xiii, xiv, xvi, xvii, xviii, xix).

3. Christian sanctuaries are made accessible to Bek-

[1] See above, pp. 435 ff.

[2] I am told by an English Corfiote of the older generation, Mr. Weale, that in his childhood many Albanian Moslems visited the cathedral at S. Spyridon's two festivals, and paid their respects to the saint's remains: they often brought with them offerings of candles and even of livestock. This has been abundantly confirmed by my own inquiries at Corfu. Lafont (*Trois Mois en Albanie*, p. 50) heard it said by some that the body was a woman's: this may be a faint echo of the tales in which bodies of Christians and Moslems are interchanged in their graves, for which see further above, pp. 446 ff.

[3] *L'Ancienne Athènes*, p. 224. Stuart and Revett seem also to have thought that a church had occupied the site.

tashi by ' identification ' in four, possibly five, cases (xi, xii, xv (?), xx, xxi).

It will be noted that the mental attitude of Bektashi and Christians with regard to these ambiguous sanctuaries is somewhat different. The educated Bektashi, to whom the ideas of pantheism and metempsychosis are familiar, find it easy and natural to identify the Christian saints with their own ; for simpler souls, if indeed the efficacy of the miracles does not suffice them, fables like the ' disguise ' of Sari Saltik in the robes of ' Svity Nikola ' [1] may be used to bridge the gap. Christians, having before them numerous examples of churches usurped by the Moslem conqueror, accept rather the assumption that the Bektashi sanctuary occupies a site already consecrated by Christian tradition, though their act of worship is made in the actual tomb-chamber of the Moslem saint and conforms to the custom of the Moslem sanctuary. This leads in some cases to the belief that the buried saint himself was a Christian, and political changes may lead to the definite and official transference of the *tekke* to Christianity.[2] In the promulgation and acceptance of these fictitious identifications the material interests of the parties concerned have evidently played an important part. The occupiers of the ambiguous sanctuary, be they Christian or Bektashi, find their *clientèle*, and consequently their revenues, increased, while the frequenters receive the less tangible but not less appreciated benefits of miraculous healing and intercession.

The concessions of Bektashism to Christianity and of Christianity to Bektashism seem at first sight exactly balanced. Christian churches adopt fictitious Bektashi traditions and receive Bektashi pilgrims : conversely, Bektashi *tekkes* adopt fictitious Christian legends and receive Christian pilgrims. But the apparent equality

[1] Above, p. 429.

[2] *Cf.* nos. xiv, xix, above.

is only superficial. The ultimate aim of the Bektashi was not to amalgamate Christianity with Bektashism on equal terms, but to absorb Christianity in Bektashism. It may well be that the partial adoption by the Bektashi of such churches as S. Naum and S. Spyridon really represent intermediate stages in the process of transition from exclusive Christian ownership to complete Bektashi occupation. In Albania we can understand that the process was arrested by the revival of the Orthodox Church in the eighteenth century. In Thrace we seem to see in Eski Baba, where a Christian church has become completely Bektashi, an example of successful transference at a more favourable date. In Anatolia it is at least possible that the same methods were used earlier still, so early and with such complete success that no trace of the process remains : but we have always to bear in mind the possibility that supposed Christian 'traditions' are to be accounted for by false legends, circulated or countenanced from interested motives by the dervishes in charge, or on patriotic grounds by the local Christians.

§ 4. Political Background

The propagation of such a religion as Bektashism is considerably aided if it can rely on the support or connivance of the civil power, especially as it is regarded by orthodox Moslems as heretical. In the case of the western (Albanian) group of ambiguous sanctuaries under Bektashi influence clear traces can be detected of a political combination, such as we have suggested in explanation of the analogous religious phenomena at medieval Konia. The spread of Bektashism in Albania is generally thought to be due to the support given to the propagandists by Ali Pasha of Yannina (d. 1822) : [1]

[1] Brailsford, *Macedonia*, pp. 233, 244. This I have found generally admitted by south Albanian Bektashi, some of whom also connect

this idea will be found to be well grounded, and there are hints that Ali's relations with the Bektashi were paralleled by those of other Albanian and Rumeliote potentates. It is still strongly held in Tepelen, the birthplace of Ali, that his connexion with dervishes was an important factor of his success.[1] One tradition says his father was a dervish.[2] Ali himself believed devoutly in dervishes, and not without reason. It is said that, while still a poor and insignificant boy, he was pointed out by a wandering holy man, to whom he and his mother had, despite their poverty, offered shelter and hospitality, as one that had a great future.[3] This same holy man gave him a 'lucky' ring, which he wore even at the end of his life.[4] His superstitious belief in prophecy was enhanced by his contact with the Greek monk and evangelist Cosmas (afterwards canonized), who foretold to him, already in 1778, that he should prevail over the pasha of Berat, become vizir of Epirus, fight with the Sultan, and go to Constantinople 'with a red beard'[5]—all of which eventually came to pass.

It was apparently in his later life that Ali 'got religion'; naturally it was not the strict observance of Sunni puritans that attracted him, but rather the licence and superstition of the less reputable members of the dervish orders, and their potential political

Omer Vrioni of Berat and Mahmud Bey of Avlona, both contemporaries of Ali, with the movement.

1 Durham, *Burden of the Balkans*, p. 239.

2 For the family of Ali see Lamprides, *Ἀλῆ Πασσᾶς*, pp. 15 ff., who says his grandfather was an Anatolian dervish of Kutahia.

3 Durham, *loc. cit.* A similar tale is told by Aravantinos, *Ἀλῆ Πασᾶ*, p. 422.

4 Ibrahim Manzour, *Mémoires*, p. 271 (the author was a French renegade who spent some years (1816-19) at Ali's court): a similar story was told to Miss Durham at Tepelen.

5 Zotos, *Λεξικὸν τῶν Ἁγίων*, *s.v.* *Κοσμᾶς*, p. 621; *cf.* Sathas, *Νεοελλ. Φιλολογία*, p. 491. It should be noted that a very similar prophecy is attributed by the Bektashi to three of their own saints, Sheikh Mimi, Sheikh Ali, and Nasibi.

importance. 'In his younger years', writes Hobhouse in 1809, 'Ali was not a very strict Mahometan; but he has lately become religious, and entertains several Dervishes at his court'.[1] I was told definitely by a Bektashi sheikh that Ali was admitted to their order by the celebrated sheikh Mimi of Bokhara, who was certainly alive in 1807.[2] This is probably the change to which Hobhouse refers.

Towards the end of his life the Pasha was much addicted to the society of dervishes, and Yannina became notorious as the haunt of the most disreputable of them.[3] Ibrahim Manzur enumerates no fewer than seven prominent sheikhs of his own time who received special favours from Ali,[4] being provided with endowed *tekkes* or other establishment. One of them Ali used regularly as his diplomatic agent; another toured in Albania, collecting contributions for the order, and, doubtless, information for his master also. The sheikh of a *tekke* at Skutari (Constantinople) visited the court of Yannina regularly once a year.[5] The local (Epirote) Bektashi with whom I have conversed on the subject did not recognize the names of the sheikhs enumerated by Ibrahim Manzur as belonging to their sect: the one possible exception was Sheikh Hasan, who is probably identical with the Bektashi saint Hasan Baba Sheret, buried outside Yannina.[6] My informants were agreed

[1] *Albania*, i, 124.

[2] See below, p. 590. Aravantinos (*Ἀλῆ Πασᾶ*, p. 417) says that Ali boasted that he was a Bektashi, but *cf.* below, p. 589, n. 1. The headstone of the tomb of Ali at Yannina was formerly marked by the twelve-sided headdress (*taj*) of the order, as is shown in a drawing in Allom and Walsh's *Constantinople*. The headstone has been removed within living memory.

[3] Leake *N. Greece*, iv, 285: 'There is no place in Greece where in consequence of this encouragement these wandering or mendicant Musulman monks are so numerous as at Ioannina.' Ibrahim Manzur says the same of his own time. [4] *Mémoires*, p. 211. [5] *Ibid.*, p. 291.

[6] Of the others I was able to trace only Sheikh Brusalu, whose tomb is still to be seen in Preveza: he is regarded as an orthodox saint.

that their order had never possessed a *tekke* in Yannina or south of it, on account of the fanatical orthodoxy of local Moslems. Ali himself did not openly admit his connexion with the heretical sect.[1] It is, of course, possible that some of the apparently orthodox dervishes in his pay were either secret adherents of the Bektashi or (to use no harsher word) latitudinarian in their beliefs.[2]

Ali's connexion with the Bektashi was mainly, perhaps, a matter of policy,[3] but his personal religion, such as it was, shows the mixture of atheism tempered by superstition, and tolerance towards other sects, especially Christians, which is characteristic of the lower forms of Bektashism. 'At the time that Christianity was out of favour in France,' says Leake, 'he was in the habit of ridiculing religion and the immortality of the soul with his French prisoners; and he lately remarked to me, speaking of Mahomet, *καὶ ἐγὼ εἶμαι προφήτης στὰ Ἰωάννινα*—and I too am a prophet at Ioannina.'[4] But with all this he had a deep-rooted belief in charms, magic, and prophecy. As regards his tolerant attitude towards Christians he may have been influenced by the prophecy

[1] Ibrahim Manzour, *Mémoires*, p. xix, but *cf.* Aravantinos, above, p. 588, n. 2: one of Ali's sons, Mukhtar Pasha, openly avowed himself Shia; Selim, another son by a slave wife, is said to have become a dervish sheikh (North, *Essay on Ancient and Modern Greeks*, p. 191).

[2] The distinctions between the Bektashi and other orders are not rigid. I have heard of two recent cases of the conversion of sheikhs of other orders to Bektashism.

[3] Leake, *N. Greece*, iv, 285: 'Although no practical encourager of liberty and equality, he finds the religious doctrines of the Bektashi exactly suited to him.' . . . 'Aly takes from every body and gives only to the dervishes, whom he undoubtedly finds politically useful,' *cf. ibid.* i, 407. Pouqueville (*Hist. Régénér. Grèce*, i, 59) gives a still more cynical account as follows: 'Musulman avec les Turcs, il caressait les plus fanatiques . . . panthéiste avec les *bektadgis*, il professait le matérialisme quand il était dans leur compagnie; et chrétien lorsq'il s'enivrait avec les Grecs, il *buvait à la santé de la bonne Vierge*:' *cf.* also i, 273.

[4] *N. Greece*, iv, 285.

of Cosmas, whose memory he perpetuated by the erection of a monastery to enshrine his remains.[1] His Greek wife was allowed an Orthodox chapel in his palace at Yannina,[2] and many Christian churches were built by his permission,[3] a concession exceptional, if not illegal, in his time: on the other hand, he is said never to have built a mosque.[4] In his courts Christians were rather favoured than otherwise.[5] Here, as in his alliance with the Bektashi, which was of the nature of a compact in the interest of both parties, we must not lose sight of the political motive: to conciliate the Christians was to bid for the support of an important minority which might otherwise give trouble.

So much for Ali's connexion with the Bektashi and the activities of the latter in Yannina itself. Leake, who already recognized the Pasha's predilection for the Bektashi, noted in Thessaly, then one of his dependencies, *tekkes* at Trikkala and at Aidinli (near Agia) built at his expense.[6] Kruya, which was in the *pashalik* of Skutari and is now the great stronghold of Bektashism in northern Albania, was for some years the residence of Sheikh Mimi, who had admitted Ali to the order. Mimi's missionary work at Kruya was conspicuously successful. He founded a *tekke* there in 1807, apparently beside an existing (or reputed) saint's grave, but eventually fell a victim to his intrigues against the civil governor.[7] It is possibly in connexion with this incident that the Pasha of Skutari banished from his capital all Bektashi dervishes as emissaries of Ali.[8]

We have thus direct evidence of Ali's connexion and

[1] Zotos, *loc. cit.* [2] Beauchamp, *Vie d'Ali Pacha*, p. 182.
[3] Juchereau, *Empire Ottoman*, iii, 65.
[4] Miller, *Ottoman Empire*, p. 64, but the statement needs modification; *cf.* Holland, *Travels*, i, 412; Leake, *N. Greece*, i, 152.
[5] Beauchamp, *loc. cit.* [6] Above, p. 534.
[7] Degrand, *Haute Albanie*, p. 209: *cf.* 245. See above, p. 550.
[8] Ippen, *Skutari*, p. 36.

collaboration with the Bektashi in Thessaly, which formed part of his satrapy, and in the province of Skutari outside it. It thus seems probable that the same combination was responsible for much of the recent conversion of the southern (Tosk) Albanians in the districts north of Yannina (Argyrokastro, Premet, Konitza, Leskovik, Kolonia, Koritza), which are at the present day strongly Bektashi.[1] Patsch, speaking of the district of Berat, remarks significantly that all Tosk and Lap Albanians who first converted under Ali Pasha, though they outwardly conform, are in fact but indifferent Mussulmans, caring little for mosques or prayers.[2]

The claims of the Bektashi to the Christian saint Naum, buried near Koritza, may possibly be traced to the period and influences of Ali's supremacy. The monastery of S. Naum was rebuilt in 1806,[3] and Leake, who visited it in 1809, remarks the special favour shown to it by Ali.[4] Von Hahn was told in the sixties that the fame of the monastery was relatively recent, and that it was under the official protection of a local Moslem (Bektashi ?) family :[5] the reverence shown by the Turks for S. Naum is mentioned about the time of Ali's death by Walsh.[6]

As to the Sari Saltik–S. Spyridon equation, it occurs first in the Kruya cycle of the Sari Saltik legend, the whole of which is foreign to the earlier version given by Evliya : the adventures of the saint at Kruya may well have been adapted from the original legend for local consumption by Ali's agent there, the missionary Sheikh Mimi. One of Ali's great political ambitions was to add the Ionian islands to his dominions, and especially S. Mavra and Corfu, as being opposite respectively to

[1] This is admitted both by Christians and Bektashi.
[2] *Berat*, p. 53.
[3] H. Gelzer, in *Ath. Mitth.* xxvii, 440.
[4] *N. Greece*, iv, 149.
[5] *Drin and Wardar*, p. 108.
[6] *Constantinople*, ii, 376 (quoted above).

Preveza and Sayada and SS. Quaranta, the ports of his capital Yannina.[1] S. Mavra he nearly succeeded in taking:[2] Corfu had been prophetically promised him by a dervish named Sheikh Ali (d. 1817) in whom he implicitly believed.[3] The alleged tomb of Sari Saltik would form in Corfu just such a religious bait to his followers as had been provided by the earlier version of the legend at certain points in Christian Europe.[4]

The *tekke* at Kalkandelen[5] offers a similar example of retrospective legend. It was built, according to information collected on the spot, by a certain Riza Pasha at the instance of a Bektashi dervish named Muharrebe Baba, to whom was revealed at Constantinople (presumably by a vision) the site of the grave of a great Bektashi saint, Sersem Ali, at Kalkandelen. The *tekke* at Kalkandelen now contains amongst others the graves of Sersem Ali and of the two founders, Muharrebe Baba and Riza Pasha. Sersem Ali is supposed to have died in the middle of the sixteenth century,[6] and has, beyond this reputed grave, no connexion with Albania. Riza Pasha's tomb is dated A.H. 1238 (= A.D. 1822–3). It thus seems fairly clear that the tomb of Sersem Ali is not authentic, and that the dervish's 'vision' was part of the Bektashi propaganda in Albania. To judge by the date of Riza Pasha's death (the same as that of Ali) the *tekke* may well belong to the series dating from the period of Ali's power.

Both at Kruya and at Kalkandelen fabricated evidence of earlier Bektashi occupation seems to have been made the pretext or justification for the founding of Bektashi

[1] Beauchamp, *Vie d'Ali Pacha*, pp. 163, 194: Holland, *Travels*, i, 405, 450, &c.

[2] Leake, *N. Greece*, iii, 13. In Leake's time the fort, still called *Tekke*, on the mainland opposite S. Mavra was actually a dervish convent.

[3] Ibrahim Manzour, *op. cit.*, p. 234. Sheikh Ali is claimed by the Bektashi.

[4] *Cf.* above, p. 433.

[5] Above, no. xviii.

[6] Jacob, *Bektaschijje*, p. 27.

tekkes, in the former case by a known emissary of Ali Pasha, in the latter probably independently of his influence. Kalkandelen seems at this period to have been subject with Uskub to hereditary pashas of old standing,[1] of whom Riza was probably one.

Other local pashas in Rumeli were manifestly in touch with the Bektashi movement at about the same date. Hasan Pehlivan Baba, pasha of Rustchuk, founded the *tekke* of Demir Baba, a saint supposed to have lived 'four hundred years ago'.[2] This *tekke* seems certainly to have been Bektashi, as it suffered under Mahmud II,[3] the notorious persecutor of the sect; the pasha himself appears to have been loyal to the Sultan, though his title of 'Baba' seems to indicate that he held a high position in the Bektashi hierarchy. Another contemporary governor who may reasonably be suspected of Bektashi leanings is the notorious Pasvanoglu, whose successful rebellion (1799) against Selim III brought him the pashalik of Vidin.[4] He seems to have been a strong partisan of the Janissaries (who were backed by the Bektashi) and of the *ancien régime*,[5] and his fief of Kirja or Kirja Ali, whence his ferocious irregulars, the 'Kirjali' were recruited,[6] has been in its time an important Bektashi centre as containing the tomb of the saint Said Ali.[7]

[1] Grisebach, *Reise durch Rumelien* (1839), ii, 230 ff.

[2] Jireček, *Bulgarien*, p. 411; *cf.* Kanitz, *Bulgarie*, p. 535, for a description and legends of the *tekke*. Pehlivan Baba is mentioned in contemporary history (Jorga, *Gesch. d. Osman. Reiches*, v, 190, &c.) and in legend becomes inextricably involved in the fantastic adventures of the saint of the *tekke*: see above, pp. 296 f. [3] Kanitz, *loc. cit.*

[4] On Pasvanoglu see Ranke, *Servia*, p. 487; Jorga, *op. cit.* v, 119, &c.

[5] For the politico-religious combinations of this period see below, pp. 618 ff.

[6] Most contemporary travellers in Rumeli mention the devastations of the 'Kirjali' bands in the district of Adrianople and elsewhere.

[7] F. W. H. It would not be surprising to hear that the tomb of Said Ali was 'discovered' by a dervish in Pasvanoglu's time.

In the present connexion the relations of Pasvanoglu with the Greek patriot Rhigas of Pherae (1757–98) have a special interest.[1] Rhigas, inspired by the ideas of the French revolution, was one of the prime movers in a comprehensive conspiracy based on a combination of the 'liberal' (or discontented) elements in the Turkish empire. This conspiracy, which was encouraged by Napoleon, aimed not only at the liberation of the Greeks as such, but at the general emancipation of the sultan's subjects, irrespective of creed or race, from the yoke of a tyrant.

Before this ambitious scheme was inaugurated, while Rhigas was in the service of the hospodar Mavroyenis, it so happened that he received orders to arrest and hand over to his master Pasvanoglu, the future tyrant of Vidin. Rhigas carried out the first part of his instructions but befriended his prisoner and released him secretly, providing him with a disguise. After the death of Mavroyenis (1790), Rhigas made use of this incident to persuade Pasvanoglu into his conspiracy. His arguments, as recorded by his friend Perrhaibos, show the widest toleration in matters of religion. He insists on the Brotherhood of all men, irrespective of creed; it is impertinence for either Mussulman or Christian to insist on the superiority of his own creed, since no man is competent to decide such high matters and all men have one Creator and Father.[2] This is of course Bektashi doctrine and could make no appeal to an orthodox Mussulman.

Rhigas seems further to have had secret relations with the Albanian *beys*, including Ali Pasha, who, like

[1] The chief source for the life of Rhigas seems to be the *Βιογραφία* by his contemporary and friend Perrhaibos. A summary of his life is given by Sathas, *Νεοελλ. Φιλολογία*, pp. 529 ff: see also the recent pamphlet of Lambros, *Ἀποκαλύψεις περὶ τοῦ μαρτυρίου τοῦ Ῥήγα*: *cf.* also his *Ἀνέκδοτα Ἔγγραφα περὶ Ῥήγα*.

[2] Quoted from Perrhaibos by Sathas, p. 531.

Pasvanoglu, made considerable, though unsuccessful, efforts to rescue him during his captivity (1798). When we hear that Rhigas carried on his intrigues in Rumeli disguised as a dervish,[1] we suspect some combination with the Bektashi group. Either (which is not impossible [2]) Rhigas was himself affiliated to the sect and bound by a vow to help a brother Bektashi in trouble, which would explain his early intervention on Pasvanoglu's behalf,[3] or at least his conspiracy had some such secret relations with the Bektashi organization as seem recently to have existed between the latter and the Young Turkish party.

Turning back to the Asiatic side of the Aegean, we find no clear evidence of similar combinations between dervish orders and local *beys*, though they may be suspected. In western Asia Minor, as in European Turkey, the concentration of power in the hands of a few leading families at the end of the eighteenth century has long been remarked. The chief of these families were the Karaosmanoglu, the Ellezoglu, and the Chapanoglu. The dominions of the Karaosmanoglu [4] included a large portion of the present Aidin (Smyrna) *vilayet*, their capital being at Magnesia, which is only second to Konia as a centre of the Mevlevi order of dervishes ; [5] the territory of the Ellezoglu marched with theirs on the south, occupying the present *sanjak* of Mentesh

[1] A. Kalevras, *Ἐπιστολαί*, p. 8 : *ὁ Ῥήγας . . . περιῆλθεν ὡς δερβίσης ἁπανταχοῦ τῆς Τουρκίας ὑπὸ τὸ πρόσχημα διδασκάλου τῆς ἠθικῆς καὶ μυστικῶς μὲν ἐδίδασκε τοὺς Ντερέμπεϊδας . . . διὰ νὰ συνενοηθῶσι μετὰ τοῦ Ναπολέοντος ἵνα ὑποστηρίξῃ αὐτοὺς εἰς ἐπανάστασιν τοῦ Σουλτὰν Σελήμη καὶ ἀναδείξῃ αὐτοὺς μικροὺς ἡγεμόνας ἀνεξαρτήτους.*

[2] *Cf.* above, p. 594.

[3] The attempts of Ali, a known Bektashi, and Pasvanoglu to rescue Rhigas may be assigned to the same cause. On the other hand, both may have feared detrimental revelations at his examination.

[4] For their rise, see below, pp. 597 ff.

[5] Garnett, *Women of Turkey*, ii, 438. Magnesia was also a Bektashi stronghold down to 1826.

down to Budrum (Halicarnassus);[1] while the Chapanoglu, farther east, with their capital at Yuzgat, governed an extensive territory, inhabited largely by semi-nomad Turkoman tribes, and including the central *tekke* of the Bektashi, in the *vilayets* of Sivas and Angora. The relations of these semi-independent feudatories were harmonious and their rule strict but enlightened, notably in the treatment of Christians, who throve conspicuously under all three dynasties.[2] The power of the three governing families was broken by the centralizing policy of Mahmud II, in spite of their proved loyalty,[3] to the great detriment of the country.

It is tempting to suppose that at the back of this harmonious, tolerant, and (for Turkey) stable baronial government, developed simultaneously over large districts of Asia Minor, lay a secret religious organization[4] with liberal principles such as those of the Mevlevi, or such as Bektashism might have become under more intelligent and far-sighted rulers than Ali Pasha of Yannina.

[1] *Spectateur Oriental*, no. 297 (8 Dec. 1827): *cf.* Forbin, *Travels*, pp. 20–1.

[2] This is a commonplace in the case of the Karaosmanoglu (see especially Keppel, *Journey across the Balcan*, ii, 323). For the treatment of Christians by the Ellezoglu see Cockerell, *Travels*, p. 162; W. Turner, *Tour in the Levant*, iii, 10; Tschihatscheff's *Reisen*, ed. Kiepert, p. 23; for the similar tendencies of Turkish *beys* of the Mylasa district, see Koutoulis, in Ξενοφάνης, iii, 452: Turner, *op. cit.* iii, 67. For the condition of Christians under the Chapanoglu see Perrot, *Souvenirs*, p. 386: the best account of them is in Kinneir's *Journey through Asia Minor* (pp. 85 ff.).

[3] It is noteworthy that in 1808, when Mahmud II came to the throne by the deposition of Mustafa IV (a creature of the Janissary-Bektashi combination), he had the support of the Karaosmanoglu and the Chapanoglu (*Times*, Nov. 15, 1808; *cf.* Juchereau, *Hist. Emp. Ott.* ii, 247).

[4] Such a combination certainly existed among the Turkomans of the Angora district in the fourteenth century (Karabashek, in *Num. Zeit.* 1877, p. 213; *cf.* Hammer-Hellert, *Hist. Emp. Ott.* i, 214).

XLV

THE RISE OF THE KARAOSMANOGLU [1]

'We Moslem little reck of blood
But yet the line of Karasman
Unchanged, unchangeable hath stood
First of the bold Timariot bands
That won and well can keep their lands.'
BYRON, *Bride of Abydos* (1813), vii.

§ 1

THE Karaosmanoglu dynasty, which during the eighteenth century and part of the nineteenth ruled the province of Sarukhan (Magnesia) in Asia Minor, stands almost alone in Turkish history as an example of a family which not only won and retained a wide local supremacy, but was conspicuous for family solidarity and wise administration throughout its tenure of power. Of the numerous pretenders to independence who disputed the sultans' sway during the centuries in question, few were able to make their claims hereditary, and none could justly boast, as could the Karaosmanoglu, that their administration had raised their dominions from poverty and disorder to a degree of prosperity unknown probably since the Roman empire.

The history, real and mythical, of this great Turkish family affords an interesting illustration of the growth of folk-traditon and its relation to historical fact, since we have here the rare advantage of being able to compare and contrast fact and fiction, and even to trace the growth of the myth. Less than a hundred and fifty years from the rise of the family, which is not extinct at the present day, its real origin is completely obscured; its actual history is supplanted by a purely legendary set of incidents and associations by which the family gains in prestige no less than in antiquity.

[1] Reprinted from *B.S.A.* xix, 198 ff.

§ 2

Historically the foundations of the Karaosmanoglu fortunes were laid about the close of the seventeenth century by successful brigandage on a large scale. Heymann, a pastor of the Dutch community at Smyrna, visited Aidin probably in 1707 [1] and there found the original Karaosmanoglu established as governor of the province. 'This Pacha', he says, 'is called *Osman Ouglou*, and is the same who some years since made all Natolia tremble, as captain of a corps of Banditti, consisting of four thousand horsemen, with which he overrun the country, raising contributions from persons of fortune, and committing all manner of violences. The Grand Signior, however, at length, pardoned him, possibly more out of fear, than any other motive, and conferred on him this post which is very considerable.' [2] The same story with minor variations and a slightly more heroic setting is told by Choiseul-Gouffier. 'About sixty years ago' Kara Osman, a private soldier in the service of a local *agha*, formed an army and a party, seized Pergamon, and eventually the whole province. Despite his success he was executed by the Sultan, but his wealth was so used by his sons as to assure the permanence of the dynasty, and his brother bought the *aghalik* of Pergamon.[3]

The local variation in these two stories need not surprise us. Every brigand on a large scale in this district made it his aim to 'hold up' the two great

[1] For the difficulty of dating exactly incidents mentioned in Heymann's travels owing to the fusion of two later travellers' accounts with his own, see the note in Vivien de S. Martin's bibliography of Asia Minor, no. 91 (in *Asie Mineure*, ii) and Jöcher's *Gelehrtenlexikon, Fortsetz. s.v.* He appears from G. Cuper's *Lettres* to have been pastor at Smyrna by 1706 (p. 362) and as late as 1717 (p. 398): he was at Damascus in 1708 (p. 194).

[2] Egmont and Heymann, *Travels* (London, 1759), i, 132: the passage is quoted in full by Arundell, *Asia Minor*, ii, 220.

[3] *Voyage Pittoresque*, ii (1809), p. 37: he travelled in 1776.

caravan-routes leading to Smyrna—the valleys of the Hermus and the Maeander—using as his base (and if necessary his refuge) the mountains between them. It is with the Hermus valley that the Karaosmanoglu were chiefly associated, Magnesia being their capital and Pergamon the second town of their district. The discrepancy as to the fate of the first Karaosmanolgu is possibly due to a confusion on the part of Choiseul-Gouffier, or his informant, between the rebellion of Karaosmanoglu and that of Gedik Mohammed Pasha in 1689.[1]

The discrepancy in date is hardly more serious, since neither authority is at all precise.[2] In any case we can place the rise of the first Karaosmanoglu pretty certainly about 1697. Edmund Chishull, travelling through Magnesia in 1699, mentions prisoners sent into that town by 'Osmanogli' as a matter of course,[3] implying that he had been established in the district (at Pergamon?) [4] for some time. Contemporary newsletters from Turkey speak of a serious rebellion in Asia Minor during 1696 and 1697, when the war on the European frontier made it impossible for the Porte to detach troops to Asia Minor. In the latter year the troubles were to some extent appeased by giving the leader of the rebels, who is never mentioned by name, a command at the front.[5] The war ended with the peace of

[1] For this see Hammer-Hellert, *Hist. Emp. Ott.* xii, 274–6; Rycaut, *Hist. of the Turks*, *s.a.* 1689, iii, 333 ff.; Pococke, *Descr. of the East*, II, ii, 90.

[2] Egmont's book, which did not appear till 1757, may be Choiseul-Gouffier's source.

[3] *Travels*, p. 9.

[4] The inhabitants of Pergamon were notorious for brigandage and the town was fast declining when Rycaut visited the place (*Greek and Armenian Churches*, p. 65). To employ an old brigand as policeman is no strange thing even in modern Turkey.

[5] *Mercure Historique*, 1697_2, p. 264: the troubles in Asia Minor are mentioned in various letters between June 1696 and July 1697. *Cf.* also Rycaut's *Hist. of the Turks*, iii, 548 f.; Hammer-Hellert, xii, 397 (rebellion quelled in 1695).

Carlowitz in 1699, the year in which Chishull at Magnesia speaks of 'Osmanogli'.

§ 3

In 1671, probably before the name of Karaosmanoglu had been heard of, Thomas Smith, then chaplain at Constantinople, made the tour of the Seven Churches. In a bath-house at Pergamon he saw a large marble vase decorated with a frieze of horsemen in relief.[1] This vase was eventually (1837) acquired by the French government [2] and is now in the Louvre.[3] A few years before its transference (1828) it was seen, still in the bath-house, by MacFarlane, who was told the following story by the owner of the bath:

'The tradition in my family states, that our ancestor, to whom we are indebted for this vase, found five others with it: each contained a quantity of coins in gold and silver, amounting together to an immense sum. According to our laws, all hidden treasures thus found in the earth, belong of right to the Sultan, and consequently my ancestor, like an honest man and a good Osmanli, remitted into the hands of government an exact account of all that he had so discovered. Instructions came from Stambool, that he was to deliver up five of the vases, and keep the sixth for himself; and as in the donation of the sixth vase, no mention had been made of the coins, he took also those of the sixth and added them to the rest. The sultan, who intended he should keep the treasure with the vase, was so pleased at this, that he gave my ancestor a small estate, and the office, to be transmitted moreover to his successors, of collecting the government tithe on the grain growth in a neighbouring district. Now if I were to make away with this vase, it would be destroying a bond by which I hold my little estate and privileges.'[4]

[1] *Septem Ecclesiarum Notitia*, p. 15. The vase seems to have been discovered a year earlier by Rycaut (*cf.* Spon's *Voyage*, i, 261); for the date of Rycaut's journey see my footnote in *B.S.A.* xii, 210.

[2] Texier, *Asie Mineure*, ii, 232.

[3] Reinach, *Répertoire de la Statuaire*, i, 78: *Cat. Som. des Marbres*, 2905.

[4] C. MacFarlane, *Constantinople in 1828*, i, 311. Turner (*Tour in*

This tale is already suspiciously like folk-lore in some details. The Pergamon vase, for instance, which measures 1·67 m. in diameter, is hardly a likely receptacle for buried treasure, though no treasure story is too extravagant to gain credence in the Levant. The just prince and the virtuous subject are also, unhappily, commoner figures in myth than in real life.

The final edition of the story, told, and half believed, by Texier on the authority of the owner of the bath, has advanced much farther on the same road. It not only supplies the name of the sultan concerned, but explains the origin of the greatness of the Karaosmanoglu by means of the treasure.

'The prince of Karassi, whose seat was at Pergamon,' runs Texier's version, 'had been killed and dispossessed of Pergamon by Sultan Orkhan [1326–60], but at this period the Ottoman Sultans could not easily annihilate the great feudatories of the growing empire. One of the descendants of Karassi, named Kara Osman, was living in retirement on a fief in the neighbourhood of Pergamon (where his family had still partisans) when he discovered three marble vases of colossal dimensions, filled, the story goes, with gold pieces. Murad I [1360–89] was then on the throne. Kara Osman sent the two largest vases to the Sultan, who gave him in return the fief of Pergamon. This is the origin of the Karaosmanoglou who down to recent times governed the pashaliks of Pergamon and Guzel-hisar. The two vases of the Sultan were without ornament: they were deposited in the mosque of S. Sophia at Constantinople where I have seen them. . . . Their height is a little above 1·80 m. The third vase, being ornamented with human figures and animals which are forbidden to Islam, could not be put to a religious use. Kara Osman gave it to one of his most faithful servants

the Levant, iii, 277) was told that seven vases full of money had been found: the sultan took six and left the seventh to the owner of the bath as an heirloom. For the theme *cf.* Carnoy and Nicolaides, *Folk-lore de Constantinople*, p. 182, where three marble vases of treasure are said to have been found at Constantinople in the early nineteenth century; the sultan took two, the finder the third; all are in the mosque built by the finder.

with the bath in which it was placed, and it was for his descendants a title of possession.' [1]

This final version shows the illogical syncretism of folk-tradition at work: it connects, without prejudice to the owner of the bath, the remarkable local family with the remarkable vase at Pergamon and with the two remarkable, but quite dissimilar, vases at S. Sophia.

In actual fact, however, the Pergamon vase is undoubtedly Hellenistic; the S. Sophia vases have been declared Byzantine by Lethaby [2] and are said by Hafiz Husain [3] to have been given by Murad III (1574–95). The latter, like many Turkish sultans, resided at Magnesia before he came to the throne; but the connexion between the Pergamon vase and the S. Sophia vases does not appear before Texier brought his tale to Constantinople.[4]

As to the name of the sultan, all sultans in Anatolian

[1] *Asie Mineure*, ii, 231. A similar story placing the discovery of the vases 'shortly after the fall of Constantinople' (Turkish for 'a very long while ago') was told of an ancestor of his own by 'a distinguished Turk' to von Prokesch-Osten in 1826 (*Denkwürdigkeiten*, iii, 327). A variant as regards the vases (four found, one of which is at Pergamon, one in S. Sophia, one at Brusa) is given by C. B. Elliott (1838, *Travels*, ii, 128).

[2] *S. Sophia*, p. 84: the vases should be compared with the jars called *zir* made at Cairo for the purposes of ablution (Migeon, *Art Musulman*, ii, 69) and furnished, like those at S. Sophia, with taps in the lower part. This form, used in Byzantine times, as Lethaby's parallels show, for ablutions and called κολύμβιον (Neale, *E. Church*, i, 214), is quite different from that of the Pergamon vase, which in its method of use was probably analogous to the *kraters* on high stands seen on some *stelae* of the 'funeral banquet' type (*e.g.* the Thasian *stele* described by Rodenwaldt in *Jahrbuch*, xxviii, pl. 26.)

[3] *Jardin des Mosquées* (eighteenth century), tr. Hammer-Hellert, *Hist. Emp. Ott.* xviii, 1, where the word given is *bassin*. Paspates (*Βυζ. Μελέται*, p. 343), who had already the Texier tradition, translates πίθοι. The vases at S. Sophia are first noticed, according to Lethaby, in 1595.

[4] It is mentioned by Paspates (*loc. cit.*) and Fossati (*ap.* Lethaby, *loc. cit.*) who repaired S. Sophia in 1847.

tradition tend to be named Murad (except in the radius of Konia, where they are Ala-ed-din) on account of the impression made by Murad IV's (1623–40) marches through Asia Minor to his Persian wars.[1] In the district of Sarukhan the name has a double chance, since the two royal mosques at Magnesia were built by Murad III [2] and bear his name.

Murad *the first* (1360–89) is probably preferred by Texier as the hero of the story on account of his date, which is not far removed from that of the extinction of the house of Karasi (*c.* 1355). The likeness between the name of Kara Osman and that of the princely house of Karaman has resulted in the false form Karasman (from which to Karasi is an easy step), and has deceived Byron and other writers into crediting the Karaosmanoglu family with extreme antiquity. But the founder of the family, as we have seen, was plain Osmanoglu and still alive in 1699.

When the final version of the story comes to us the Karaosmanoglu were no longer a reigning house, having been deprived of their power by the reforming sultan Mahmud II : had the dynasty lasted a few years longer, the treasure-jars might have figured as the deposit of one of their ancestors in the time of the 'idolaters before Constantine' or even in the still more remote period of the 'Genoese'.[3]

[1] For him (probably) at Aleppo, *cf.* Cahun, *Excursions sur les Bords de l'Euphrate*, p. 147. So, too, Ibrahim Pasha has become a mythological hero since his occupation of Cilicia in the thirties: he is now held responsible for 'almost every building or work of any consequence along the road', in the neighbourhood of the Cilician Gates (Ramsay, in *Geog. Journ.* xxii (1903), p. 371, &c.). S. Peter is the inevitable founder of churches (Gregorovius, *Wanderjahre*, v, 136).

[2] Hammer-Hellert, *Hist. Emp. Ott.* ii, 315 ; Cuinet, *Turquie d'Asie*, iii, 537.

[3] The 'Jineviz' (lit. 'Genoese') in Turkish folk-legend, owing probably to their apparent connexion with the *jinn*, are what the generations before the Trojan war were to the Greeks.

XLVI [1]

THE GIRDING OF THE SULTAN

Introductory

NO ceremonial of the Turkish court makes a stronger appeal to the imagination than the Girding of the Sultan at Eyyub, which takes the place of our coronation. The scene of the ceremony is for Moslems the holiest spot in Constantinople: the Mosque of Eyyub, set amongst ancient cypresses on the shore of the Golden Horn, marks the grave of an Arab warrior-saint, revealed, so legend says, while the army of Mohammed the Conqueror, not yet victorious, still camped about the beleaguered city. To these traditions are added others of a yet older past which link the history of the Ottomans with that of their forerunners, the Seljuks of Rum. From Konia, capital of Rum, comes the venerated Sheikh of the Mevlevi ('dancing') dervishes—the supreme head of his order, and hereditary successor of its founder—who plays the chief part in the investiture of the Sultan; it is he who, before the tomb-chamber of the saint, girds about the new monarch the sword with which Osman, first of the royal line which bears his name, was invested by his liege-lord of Konia. Such are the memories the ceremony of the Girding is meant to keep alive.

§ 1. *The Traditional Origin of the Girding Ceremony*

It is the purpose of the present paper to investigate the latter part of the tradition—the connexion of the ceremony of the Girding with the Seljuk sultans of Rum and especially the privilege of the Konia sheikhs.

[1] This chapter appeared in an inferior form in *B.S.A.* xix, 208 ff.

The traditions popularly current in our own day are given as follows by Sir Charles Eliot:

'When Osman was beginning his conquests, and had taken Broussa and other towns from the Greeks, he sent a polite embassy to Sultan Alau-'d-Din, who was then the most considerable Turkish sovereign in Asia, to explain his proceedings and his desire to remain on good terms with the greatest chieftain of his race. Alau-'d-Din replied that he had no objection to the Osmanlis taking from the Greeks whatever they could get, and, as a proof of his goodwill, sent the celebrated Jelalu-'d-Din [Founder of the Mevlevi Order of dervishes] to give Osman a sword of honour, a ceremony slightly suggesting the investiture of a vassal. But this story presents difficulties. According to the ordinary chronology, Alau-'d-Din reigned from 1219 to 1236; Jelalu-'d-Din was born in 1202 and died in 1273; Osman reigned from 1288 to 1328.'[1]

We need not lay too much stress on the anachronisms implied by the association of Jelal-ed-din with Osman, since later Superiors of the Mevlevi order have borne their founder's name: the difficulty is moreover avoided in the Konia version of the story set down by Cuinet. According to this, Sultan Ala-ed-din the *third* of Konia during his lifetime chose as his successor the Ottoman chieftain Ertoghrul, who predeceased him. At the death of Ala-ed-din (1307) the then Sheikh of the Mevlevi wrote as his representative to Osman, the successor of Ertoghrul, to come and assume the government. Osman, being busy fighting, allowed the Sheikh to represent him at Konia till a more convenient season, and was eventually invested by the Sheikh in the traditional way.[2]

This picturesque story is unfortunately quite without historical basis. It was evidently devised to represent the acquisition of Karamania by the Ottomans as a peaceful and legitimate succession dating back to the earliest period of Ottoman power, whereas in fact the

[1] *Turkey in Europe*, p. 183. [2] Cuinet, *Turquie d'Asie*, i, 828 f.

province in question was added to their dominions by conquest from the Karamanoglu, successors of the Seljuk dynasty, under Bayezid I in 1392.[1] At the same time the part taken by the Sheikh in the story is calculated to enhance the prestige of the Mevlevi order.

Two historical facts have been used in the fabrication of the legend. (1) When Bayezid I, the actual conqueror of Karamania, had been officially recognized as sultan of Rum by the caliph, he is said to have granted the privilege of girding on his sword when he went to war to his son-in-law Sheikh Bokhara, surnamed Emir Sultan.[2] Emir Sultan is said to be one of the titles of the Sheikh of the Mevlevi.[3] (2) In 1435, when the vassal prince of Karamania revolted and Konia was taken by Murad II, the eventual agreement was signed on behalf of the prince, who had fled to Cilicia, by the then Sheikh of the Mevlevi, who bore the name of the founder of the Order, his ancestor, Jelal-ed-din.[4]

But popular imagination carries the tradition still farther. The Sheikh of the Mevlevi, who in history represents the Karamanian prince of Konia, becomes in tradition first the legitimate successor by blood of the Seljuk dynasty [5] and finally the real caliph ! Sir Charles Eliot was once told that 'when the Chelebi [*i.e.* the Sheikh of the Konia Mevlevi] proceeds to Constantinople to gird on the sword, he does not go farther than Scutari himself . . . because, if he were to set foot in Constantinople, he would, *ipso facto*, become Sultan and Caliph.' [6] The sultans of Konia had of course no

[1] Hammer-Hellert, *Hist. Emp. Ott.* i, 308.

[2] *Ibid.* i, 321–3 : Hammer already connects this episode with the later Girding ceremony.

[3] *Ibid.* i, 40.

[4] *Ibid.* ii, 287 f. and note (491).

[5] Cuinet, *loc. cit.* ; Byzantios, *Κωνσταντινούπολις*, iii, 575, quoted below ; a garbled version in [Blunt] *People of Turkey*, ii, 267.

[6] *Turkey in Europe*, pp. 183 f. ; *cf.* Slade, *Travels in Turkey*, p. 376, quoted below, p. 615 : *cf.* Melek Hanum, *Trente Ans dans les Harems*,

pretensions to the Caliphate, but—and this may be the exiguous foundation of the legend—Ala-ed-din I in 1219 received the title of representative of the Caliph in Rum.[1]

The whole of this cycle of legend is fictitious : it was evidently composed to increase the prestige of the Ottoman house in Asia Minor, where Ala-ed-din is still a popular hero of legend, and of the Mevlevi order in Constantinople. It is based first and foremost on the traditional right of the Mevlevi Sheikh to gird the new sultan with the so-called sword of Osman. Now this traditional right is entirely unknown to writers on Turkish history and institutions so recent and so thorough as d'Ohsson and von Hammer. Both these authorities state that the girding ceremony was performed by the Mufti assisted by the Chief of the Emirs or Descendants of the Prophet (*Nakib-el-Ashraf*) and the Esquire of the Sultan (*Silihdar*). Certain high officials, the two *Kazi-askers*, the Vizir, and the Agha of Janissaries, were admitted to the almost secret ceremony.[2] When and how did the Sheikh of the Mevlevi acquire his privilege ?

§ 2. *The History of the Girding Ceremony*

We must first attempt to investigate the history as opposed to the legend of the Girding ceremony. The mosque of Eyyub, where it takes place, commemorates the discovery of the grave of the Arab *ghazi* Eyyub who fell before the walls of Constantinople in the siege of 670. His tomb was miraculously revealed to the sheikh Ak-Shems-ed-din, according to some writers actually during the Turkish siege of 1453 : the best authorities,

p. 181. Stern (*Die Moderne Türkei*, p. 118) says that Abdul Hamid suspected the Chelebi as a possible rival and had him spied upon.

[1] Sarre, *Reise in Kleinasien*, p. 40.

[2] D'Ohsson, *Tableau*, ii, 258, 277, iii, 125 ; von Hammer, *Staatsverfassung*, i, 484 and 486 (official account of the accession of Suleiman II in 1687).

however, place the discovery after the siege.[1] The mosque, built by Mohammed the Conqueror, bears the date 1458.[2] According to the tradition current in d'Ohsson's time, Sultan Mohammed II instituted the ceremony of the Girding and was himself girded by Ak-Shems-ed-din, the discoverer of the tomb, who held no official position but was simply a greatly venerated mystic in the immediate *entourage* of the Conqueror.[3] The first contemporary mention I can find of Eyyub in connexion with the accession of a sultan is Gerlach's reference to it at the time of the accession of Murad III (1574), who is said to have visited the mosque *more maiorum* : the Girding is not mentioned.[4] On general grounds it seems probable that the ceremony was a counterpart of the Girding of Bayezid I, *i.e.* that it commemorated the recognition of Mohammed II's new position by the Caliph. For this there is a still earlier precedent in the girding of Melik Mensur, sultan of Egypt, on his accession in 1342 by the Caliph Ahmed IX.[5] The extraordinary importance attached by Mohammedans generally to the capture of Constantinople, owing to the traditional *dictum* of the Prophet, is well known.[6]

Girding as a symbolic rite of investiture seems to be of very ancient origin in the East. The *pirs*, or traditional patrons, of Turkish trade-guilds are all said to have been appointed in this way by famous saints,[7] and till recently apprentices were girded as the outward

[1] See fully below, p. 715.

[2] *Jardin des Mosquées* in Hammer-Hellert, *Hist. Emp. Ott.* xviii, 57.

[3] D'Ohsson, *Tableau*, i, 305. [4] *Ap.* Crusius, *Turco-Graecia*, p. 67.

[5] D'Ohsson, *Tableau*, i, 305. Similarly, Toghrul Beg, grandson of Seljuk, is said to have been girded with two swords by the Caliph, when he received from the latter the title of Emir of Emirs in recognition of his conquests (Hammer-Hellert, *Hist. Emp. Ott.* i, 13). *Cf.* the Tatar khans of the Crimea, who also were girt with a sword at their investiture (Hammer-Hellert, *op. cit.* xii, 145).

[6] Hammer-Hellert, *op. cit.* ii, 393 f. : *cf.* the inscription in S. Sophia's given in *Museum Worsleyanum*, ii, 50. [7] Evliya, *Travels*, I, ii, 94.

symbol of their admission to the degree of master.[1] Girding plays a similar part in the admission of novices to dervish orders.[2]

It seems at least certain that the Girding ceremony was by the seventeenth century a regular part of the sultans' investiture, and the official historians down to d'Ohsson and von Hammer, as we have seen, regularly assign its performance to the Mufti, with the assistance of the *Nakib* and the *Silihdar*.[3]

The ceremony was performed in the open air on a platform supported by marble pillars standing in the middle of the inner court between the mosque and the tomb of the saint.[4] The mosque and its surroundings were of extraordinary sanctity and till recently inaccessible at any time to 'Franks'. Very few persons, even of the officials, are admitted to the Girding ceremony. As to the sword used in the ceremony, it is regularly spoken of as the Sword of the Prophet.[5] But among the official relics of the Prophet at Constantinople [6] a

[1] W. Turner, *Tour in the Levant*, iii, 217; Lane, *Mod. Egyptians*, ii, 240.

[2] Evliya, *op. cit.* I, ii, 104. Brides and young men are girt by their fathers according to Melek Hanum, *Trente Ans dans les Harems d'Orient*, p. 271.

[3] For the Mufti as the ordinary protagonist see Sandys (1610), *Travels*, p. 29; Du Loir, *Voyages*, p. 64; d'Arvieux, *Mémoires*, iv, 463; Wheler, *Journey into Greece*, p. 200; Veryard (1701), *Choice Remarks*, p. 346; Tournefort, *Voyage*, letter xi; Pococke, *Descr. of the East*, II, ii, 128.

[4] Sandys, *loc. cit.*; Du Loir, *loc. cit.* The Girding at the present day takes place in the court opposite the main door of the mosque and in front of the tomb-chamber.

[5] Von Hammer, *Staatsverfassung*, i, 484; Hammer-Hellert, *Hist. Emp. Ott.* xvi, 6; de la Mottraye, cited below, p. 611, n. 2; Dallaway (1794–6), *Constantinople*, p. 118. Evliya (*Travels*, I, i, 120) says that Murad IV was girded in 1623 with two swords, those of the Prophet and of Sultan Selim, adding that 'no monarch was ever girt in this manner'.

[6] These, which comprise the standard, mantle, teeth, beard, and footprint, are described by d'Ohsson, *Tableau*, i, 261: the footprint

sword is never mentioned. We may venture a guess that the sword at Eyyub was originally attributed to another Mohammed, the Conqueror himself.[1]

§ 3. *The Intrusion of the Mevlevi*

In spite of the unanimity of the historians there have been occasions when the Girding ceremony was not performed by the Mufti and his assistants the *Nakib* and the *Silihdar*. The first hint of the intrusion of the Mevlevi is the tradition recorded by Rycaut :

'Ottoman, first of the Mahommedan kings . . . out of devotion to their [the Mevlevi's] Religion once placed their Superiour in his Royal Throne, because having been his Tutour, and he who girted on his Sword (which is the principal Ceremony of Coronation) he granted him and his Successours ample Authority and Rule over all others of the same Profession.'[2]

The reigning sultan during the whole of Rycaut's residence in Turkey was Mohammed IV (1648–87). There are indications that the Mevlevi were influential at the court of the preceding sultan, Ibrahim (1640–8),[3] who was deposed in favour of his son by a plot, in which the Mufti, the Agha of the Janissaries, and the Vizir ('Mevlevi Dervish' Mohammed)[4] were all implicated. At the investiture of Mohammed IV, a child of six, the Vizir marched in the procession to Eyyub in the habit of the Mevlevi order.[5] Many highly placed officials were at this period affiliated to the Mevlevi. It is at least possible that some political combination turning

was deposited at Eyyub by Sultan Mahmud I (*Jardin des Mosquées* in Hammer-Hellert, *op. cit.* xviii, 57), the rest are kept in the old Seraglio.

[1] For a similar confusion between the two Mohammeds see above, p. 186.

[2] *Ottoman Empire*, p. 67 : copied (?) by Le Bruyn, *Voyage*, i, 390.

[3] Monconys, *Voyages*, i, 390 : 'Nous vismes passer les Deruis avec leur Superieur monté sur vn cheual blanc, qui alloient danser deuant le Grand Seigneur qui les enuoyait querir souuent le soir.'

[4] Vizir 1648–9 (Evliya, I, ii, 152).

[5] Hammer-Hellert, *Hist. Emp. Ott.* x, 187.

on 'Dervish Mohammed's' support secured to the order in 1648 the privilege of the Girding of the sultan.

Half a century later, and again after an abnormal accession, appears a third competitor for the privilege of Girding. In 1703 Ahmed III came to the throne owing to a rebellion of the Janissaries, directed chiefly against the Mufti and resulting in his deposition in favour of a creature of the Janissaries. According to the official account the new sultan was girded by the *Silihdar*, the *Nakib*, and the Agha of the Janissaries.[1] Here the exceptional circumstances of Ahmed's succession go far to explain the latter officer's presence at the ceremony. But de la Mottraye's version, derived, as he tells us, from a renegade present by special favour at the ceremony, shows that it was the Agha of Janissaries who played the chief part.[2] When we remember that the Janissaries were at this date already closely, and even officially, connected with the Bektashi order of dervishes,[3] we suspect an attempt on the part of this order

[1] Hammer-Hellert, *Hist. Emp. Ott.* xiii, 135. Ahmed's predecessor, Mustafa II (1695), was girded according to Cantimir (ii, 242) by the 'Sheikh of the Jami (Mosque)', probably a mistake for the Sheikh-ul-Islam or Mufti.

[2] *Travels*, i, 246, *cf.* p. 247 : 'They keep in it [the mosque of Eyyub] an old Sabre, which (they say) was *Mahomet's* . . . the Ceremony of the Coronation consists particularly in girding this Sabre about the Emperor ; and the *Turks* say, instead of crowning, girding the Sabre of the Prophet : 'tis the Office and Privilege of the *Adgi Becktasse*, who ought to be (according to some *Turks*) always a Descendant of that *Yup* : for *Job* [read "Eyyub *or Job*"], who by some Glorious Action deserv'd the Sirname of the Father of the Janizaries.' The French text (*Voyages*, La Haye, 1727, i, 334) adds some details : 'Les *Turcs*, au lieu de *couronner*, disent, *ceindre le Sabre*. Ce Sabre de *Mahomet* est une vieille sorte d'armes *Arabes*. *L'Adgi Bectasse*, qui en fait l'office, est, dit-on, un descendant d'*Eiub* ou *Job*, qui selon les Annales ou la Tradition des *Turcs*, étoit un grand Capitaine & un zélé *Musulman*.' 'Adgi Bectasse' is of course Haji Bektash, on whom see above, pp. 488 ff. The passage on the following page of de la Mottraye shows that the Mufti was on this occasion also present.

[3] See especially Rycaut, *Ottoman Empire*, p. 65.

to seize the privilege and prestige of girding the sultans,[1] and possibly to take possession of the mosque of Eyyub. The political significance of this step is obvious. It was a cynical indication that the elevation of sultans was in the power of the Janissary-Bektashi combination, which had been to some extent kept in check during the previous half-century by the strong vizirs of the Kuprulu family.

In the decadent eighteenth century what evidence we have points to the conclusion that a compromise was arrived at with regard to the Girding by the parties concerned; the chief part in the ceremony was given to the *Nakib*,[2] probably as being a politically insignificant figure. But we have still hints of competition for the honour between the Mevlevi and Bektashi. Carsten Niebuhr, in the reign of Mustafa III, says he was informed by a Mevlevi dervish at Constantinople that, while a member of the latter order had the privilege of *girding* the sultan, the sword itself was attached by a member of the Bektashi.[3] The story then told by the Mevlevi was that their founder had actually reigned at Konia as successor to Ala-ed-din, whose daughter he had married, but had been dispossessed by Osman.[4]

[1] I was told by a Bektashi dervish of Constantinople that his sect claimed for their founder, Haji Bektash, the original privilege of girding the sultan and regarded the Mevlevi as usurpers of their right. The mystical importance attaching to the girdle in Bektashi doctrine (Jacob, *Beiträge*, pp. 50 f.) could easily be used in support of their claim.

[2] This is stated of the accessions of Mahmud I in 1730 (Hammer-Hellert, *Hist. Emp. Ott.* xiv, 235), Osman III in 1754 (Hammer-Hellert, *op. cit.* xv, 272; d'Ohsson, *Tableau*, iii, 125), and Mustafa III in 1757 (Hammer-Hellert, xvi, 5–6: both Mufti and *Nakib* are here mentioned). It is the *Nakib* alone who seems to be the recognized protagonist at the end of the century (Juchereau, *Révol. de Constantinople*, i, 252; *Emp. Ott.* ii, 238).

[3] *Reisebeschreibung*, iii, 116: the symbolism would appear to be that the Mevlevi consecrated the ruler and the Janissaries conferred on him the command of the Ottoman army.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 115: this was told Niebuhr at Konia.

The century closes with the reign of Selim III (1788 to 1807), notable for the sultan's vigorous attempts at reform, especially army reform, which excited the jealous hostility of the Janissaries. In 1807 this hostility found vent and Mustafa IV was placed on the throne by a Janissary rising. The revolution was engineered on their own confession by the Bektashi sect.[1] Mustafa was deposed in the following year by a counter-revolution, which brought to the throne Mahmud II, a reformer like his cousin Selim.

It is about this date that we begin again to hear from unofficial sources of the Girding as the exclusive and old-established privilege of the Mevlevi Sheikhs. Already in the reign of Selim III we find current at Constantinople a form of the modern legend. The sword is girded, according to Comidas, by the deputy of the Chief of the Mevlevi dervishes, called Mollah Hunkiar, who resides in Konia and *as a descendant of Ala-ed-din* has the privilege of investing the Ottoman sultans. 'When the Deputy of the Mollah Hunkiar is not in Constantinople, his office is performed by the *Nakib*.'[2] The last sentence interprets favourably to the Mevlevi the intrusion of the *Nakib* at recent accessions, and perhaps implies that the sultan then reigning (Selim III) was not girded by the Sheikh of the Mevlevi though the Order had asserted its claims.[3]

[1] Assad Efendi, *Destr. des Janissaires*, p. 305.

[2] Comidas, *Decr. di Costant.* p. 43: this is evidently the source of Byzantios, *Κωνσταντινούπολις*, iii (1869), p. 575, who elsewhere (i, 602) says the ceremony was performed by the Mufti.

[3] In an exactly similar way we find a Mevlevi legend associating their Order with the Janissaries just before the latter began their official connexion with the Bektashi (1591, d'Ohsson, *Tableau*, iii, 325 f.: 'L'institutione della beretta Uschiuff (la qual' è ben nota frà i Capi de' Janizzari) è stata inventata da Suleiman Bassa Guerriero Conquistatore de Bullair, e fù portata per segno di grand' amore e divotione, che portavano à San Gelladino Greco' [Jelal-ed-din Rumi, the founder of the Mevlevi]. This is the version given by Saad-ed-din (tr. Bratutti,

The Girding of Mahmud II in 1808 was accompanied by an innovation which caused great comment at the time. The Vizir, the same Bairakdar who had put the new sultan on his throne, marched in the procession with a guard of three hundred well-armed Albanians, though the custom was that no arms should be borne.[1] As to the ceremony itself many sources point to its having been performed by the Sheikh of the Mevlevi instead of by the Mufti : the anomaly mentioned above may have been a precautionary measure in view of a possible riot.

Many contemporary authorities state or imply that Mahmud II was girded by the Mevlevi Sheikh. Andréossi, who as ambassador at Constantinople from 1812

i, 40 : *cf.* W. Seaman, *Orchan*, p. 27, *cf.* p. 77) of a legend connecting Suleiman Pasha, son of Orkhan, with the Mevlevi, given also with slight variations by d'Ohsson (*Tableau*, ii, 313) and von Hammer (*Hist. Emp. Ott.* i, 210). For the likeness between the *uskiuff* as worn by the Janissaries and the felt cap of the Mevlevi see d'Ohsson (*loc. cit.*) and C. White (*Constantinople*, iii, 354). The Bektashi, on the other hand, connected the peculiar headdress of the Janissaries with the blessing of the new troops by their own founder, Haji Bektash (Jacob, *Beiträge*, p. 3, &c.) ; of this legend I find the earliest mention in Leunclavius (*Annales*, p. 313 P. *s.a.* 1328) just before the Bektashi were officially quartered in the barracks of the Janissaries. Similarly, the Mevlevi legend that Ertoghrul visited Jelal-ed-din at Konia and recommended his son Osman to the saint's prayers (Browne (1802) in Walpole's *Travels*, p. 121 ; a variant version substituting Suleiman Pasha for Osman in d'Ohsson, *Tableau*, ii, 312) corresponds to the Bektashi legend that Orkhan brought his new levies to be blessed by Haji Bektash. The detail of this legend, which connects the flap on the headdress of the Janissaries with the sleeve of the saint who blessed them, is again paralleled by a Mevlevi tradition referring the same peculiarity in the headdress of court officials to the blessing of Orkhan by their founder (von Hammer, *Staatsverfassung* ii, 409). All these legends alike seem aetiological inventions designed to increase the prestige of the orders concerned and sometimes to pave their way to a new claim.

[1] Jouannin, *Turquie*, p. 379. Armed janissaries had escorted Mahmud I in the same way at his accession in 1730, which also was due to a Janissary rising (Perry, *View of the Levant*, p. 80).

till 1814 had every opportunity of knowing the truth, without referring to the Girding of Mahmud II in particular, represents the Mevlevi Sheikh as the regular protagonist in the ceremony.[1] Von Hammer, knowing the passage in Andréossi, categorically denies his statement,[2] evidently on the authority of d'Ohsson and earlier writers. But Andréossi is confirmed by Frankland [3] (1827–8) on the authority of his landlord, who was in service for fourteen years in the Seraglio, by Marmont [4] (1834), by Texier (1834),[5] by Pardoe,[6] and by Slade (1827–8), who is so circumstantial as to be worth quoting in full. The passage runs as follows :

'The investiture (with the Sword of Othman) is given by the Scheick of the Mevlevi Dervishes, called Mollah Hunkiar, who resides at Cogni, enjoying the office by right of his family, which, as being descended collaterally from the Abbasides . . . claims spiritual preeminence over the Othmans, no one of whom would be considered reigning de jure in the eyes of the nation unless girded by the Mollah Hunkiar. The present Mollah succeeded to the office in 1803, when two years old, by the death of his father, the old Scheick, and, when seven years old, was brought to Constantinople to invest the present Sultan, Mahmud II.' [7]

[1] *Constantinople* (1828), p. 2, quoted in full by Frankland, *Constantinople*, i, 199: 'Le cinquième ou le sixième jour de son avénement au trone, le Sultan . . . se rend dans la mosquée d'Eïoub . . . ; c'est là que le *Cheïkh* des *Mevlevi*, ou son délégué, lui ceint le sabre d'Osman.' Pertusier makes the Mufti the protagonist, naming as his assistants the *Nakib* and the Sheikh of the Konia Mevlevi (*Promenades dans Constantinople* (1815), ii, 215).

[2] *Hist. Emp. Ott.* xvi, 5. Juchereau similarly seems to state that Mahmud was girded by the *Nakib*, but is really only inferring it, as Hammer did, from precedent (*Emp. Ott.* ii, 238, *cf. Révol. de Constantinople*, i, 252).

[3] *Constantinople*, i, 147 : 'it is customary with the Sultans, upon the ceremony of their inauguration to receive the sword of the Caliphs at the hand of the Sheik Dervish.'

[4] *Turkish Empire*, p. 118.

[5] *Asie Mineure*, ii, 144.

[6] *City of the Sultans*, i, 52.

[7] Slade, *Travels in Turkey* (2nd ed.), pp. 376 f.

It is evident that by 1828 the girding by the Sheikh of the Mevlevi was regarded as an institution and that the explanatory legend was being developed.

Abdul Mejid, the son and successor of Mahmud, at his accession in 1839, was again girded by the Sheikh of the Mevlevi.[1] The Mufti was induced with great difficulty to be present at the ceremony: he pleaded that the wearing of the fez by the sultan on this occasion was repugnant to his religious scruples.[2]

From this time onwards the Girding of the sultan seems to have been the acknowledged right of the Mevlevi Sheikh.[3]

Meanwhile the 'Sword of the Prophet', in accordance with the new legend, has become the 'Sword of the Caliphs'[4] or more generally the 'Sword of

[1] Lesur, *Annuaire Historique*, 1839, App. p. 182; the actual ceremony at Eyyub seems as usual to have been kept very private. Wilkinson (*Modern Egypt*, i, 285) refers to the privilege of the Mevlevi in this reign. [2] Juchereau, *Emp. Ott.* iv, 228.

[3] The Bektashi have a special tradition regarding the Girding which seems worth putting on record. They claim not only to have been the first holders of the privilege (*cf.* above, p. 612, n. 1) but to have possessed it till the destruction of the Janissaries by Sultan Mahmud II, when it devolved upon the Mevlevi Sheikh, *the latter being a Crypto-Bektashi*. We have seen that the Girding was in the hands of the Bektashi in 1703. It is quite possible that they resumed it at the accession of Mustafa IV, which was entirely due to their intrigues.

[4] Frankland, *Constantinople*, i, 147, quoted above, p. 615, n. 3. A sword purporting to be the sword of Osman's investiture, kept in the Imperial treasury, is known to Hammer (*Hist. Emp. Ott.* i, 105), as is a sword of the *caliph Osman* (*ibid.* ii, 20). Were these identical? Further, a 'sword of the caliph Omar', kept in the Seraglio, is mentioned by Tavernier (*Rel. of the Seraglio*, 1677, p. 75); Mohammed IV, before undertaking the Cretan War (1645), was twice girt by the Mufti with the sword of Omar 'in anticipation of victory' (Evliya, ii, 76); and I was told in 1913 by one of the *imams* of the Eyyub mosque that the sword now used in the Girding ceremony was that of the caliph Omar. It is possibly the same 'sword of the caliphs' which the later (Mevlevi) tradition has preferred to associate first with the caliph Osman and next, by an easy transition, with the Ottoman sultan of

Osman'.[1] The earliest reference to the story now current of the investiture of Osman by the complimentary present of a sword from his suzerain Ala-ed-din comes from Brusa: this version does not acknowledge the part played in the ceremony by the Mevlevi Sheikh.[2]

The privilege of the Sheikh of the Mevlevi has, however, lapsed and been resumed even since 1839. Abdul Aziz, a strongly orthodox[3] sultan, was girded on 4 July, 1861, by the *Nakib, acting as the representative of the Mevlevi Sheikh*,[4] an arrangement evidently devised to save the face both of the Ulema and of the Mevlevi.

Murad V, who came to the throne after the deposition of Abdul Aziz in the troubled year 1876, was certainly never invested in the traditional manner.[5] All preparations were made for the ceremony and procession by the end of May, but the investiture was put off

the same name. The *Times* of July 15, 1861, describing the girding of Abdul Aziz, says: 'The Sultan is girt with the sword of Othman, or one of the other leading champions of the Crescent, for it appears that a choice of sabre is allowed him.'

[1] So in Comtesse Agénor de Gasparin's *Constantinople*, p. 194, in the modern versions cited above, and in Marmont's *Turkish Empire* (pp. 59, 118); also in Baedeker's *Konstantinopel* (1914), p. 219. The first mention of the 'sword of Osman' in this connexion seems to be in Veryard, *Choice Remarks* (1701), p. 346. If the Mevlevi Sheikh, as we have suggested, girded Mohammed IV in 1648, the variation is intelligible.

[2] Sestini, *Lettere Odeporiche*, i, 110.

[3] In this connexion it is interesting to note that Abdul Aziz built a royal mosque in Konia, as did the bigoted Sunni Selim I. The mosque of the latter stands immediately in front of the *tekke* of the Mevlevi. Both foundations were evidently intended as a Sunni counterpoise to the suspected influence of these dervishes, to whose enormous local influence Niebuhr (*Reisebeschreibung*, iii, 118) and others testify.

[4] *Times*, July 15: *Βυζαντίς*, 20 May (O.S.): *Γνωστὸν ὅτι τὸ προνόμιον τοῦ περιβάλλειν τὸν νέον Σουλτάνον τὴν σπαθὴν τοῦ 'Οσμὰν κέκτηται οἰκογένειά τις ἐξ 'Ικονίου ἱερὰν ἔχουσα καταγωγήν, ἧς ὁ ἀντιπρόσωπος Νακοὺπ 'Εσρέφ, οὐλεμᾶς ὑψηλοῦ βαθμοῦ, διαμένει ἐν τῷ τεμένει τοῦ 'Εγιούπ.*

[5] *Times*, 13 Sept.

on the pretext that the Khedive wished to be present. A few days later the sultan underwent an operation.[1] He was deposed on 6 August in favour of Abdul Hamid on the ground of insanity.

Abdul Hamid was girded on 7 September, apparently by the Mevlevi Sheikh ;[2] the same was certainly the case at the Girding of Mohammed V,[3] who was universally admitted to be a member of the Mevlevi order. The details of the ceremony on this occasion attracted some attention on account of the political circumstances which led to the change of rulers. Ramsay's narrative shows that there was no doubt in Constantinople before the ceremony as to who would officiate : even a boatman was well informed on the point.[4] Nevertheless a Greek writer in 1907,[5] and Ramsay himself in 1909, looked on the participation of the Mevlevi Sheikh as the revival of an ancient custom which had fallen into abeyance.

§ 4. *Political Combination under Mahmud II*

So far, we have arrived at the conclusions (1) that the privilege of the Mevlevi Sheikh is not an ancient institution but a comparatively recent innovation, and (2) that there is a good deal of evidence to show that it

[1] *Νεολόγος*, June 1, June 23, June 26 (O.S.).

[2] Cutts, *Christians under the Crescent*, p. 334 ; *Times*, 13 Sept. ; *Νεολόγος*, 27 Aug. The procession is fully described but not the ceremony. The *Times* account says : ' there lives at Konieh an old Sheriff or Imam, the descendant of an ancient sovereign race who waive their rights to the throne in favour of the house of Osman.' The *Νεολόγος* gives the following note : *περιζώννυται τὸ ξίφος ὁ τοῦ ἰσλαμισμοῦ ἀρχηγὸς ὑπὸ τοῦ διαδόχου τῶν σελτσουκίδων τοῦ Ἰκονίου (Μολλᾶ Χουνκιὰρ) ὧν ὁ γενάρχης τῶν Ὀσμανίδων ὑπῆρξεν ὑποτελὴς ἡγεμών*. This is the later popular legend mentioned by Eliot and Cuinet.

[3] Ramsay, *Revolution in Turkey*, p. 202.

[4] *Ibid.* p. 154.

[5] Antonopoulos, *Μικρὰ Ἀσία* p. 217 : so also I. Valavanis, *Μικρασιατικά* (1891), p. 112.

became regular only after the accession of Mahmud II in 1808. What was the cause of the innovation?

Mahmud II, continuing the policy of Selim III, was pre-eminently a reforming sultan. He aimed particularly at the remodelling of the army, which involved the abolition of the Janissaries. The latter were already hateful to him as responsible for the deposition of Selim, to whom he was attached, and for the death of his own vizir, Bairakdar, who had brought him to the throne. The Janissaries were backed by the great dervish organization of the Bektashi. Mahmud first tried to amalgamate them with his new army, offering a pension to those who refused.[1] These conciliatory tactics proved unsuccessful. In 1814–16 small bodies of Janissaries were being secretly made away with.[2] By the drastic action of 1826 the sultan rid himself of the Janissaries and crippled the Bektashi organization.[3] Any reformer had, further, to reckon with the party of the Mufti and Ulema, which on religious grounds has always been solid for reaction.[4] The Ulema party stood particularly for the political and legal superiority of Mussulmans to Christians, which in the latter part of his reign Mahmud made some attempt to abolish.[5] The Mevlevi more than any Mohammedan religious body in Turkey have stood for tolerance and enlightenment:[6] Mahmud

[1] *Times*, Nov. 15, 1808.

[2] W. Turner, *Tour in the Levant*, iii, 390 ff., *cf.* p. 385.

[3] See particularly Assad Efendi, *Destr. des Janissaires*, pp. 298 ff.

[4] For the obstructive policy of the Ulema under Mahmud II see particularly Walsh, *Constantinople*, ii, 300 f.; *cf.* also H. Southgate, *Travels* (1840), ii, 173, and Rolland, quoted below. Keppel (*Journey across the Balcan*, i, 96 ff.) considers the 'unholy alliance' between the Ulema and Janissaries as of much older standing.

[5] Ubicini (*Turquie*, i, 447) says that Mahmud was not *outwardly* for reform till 1826, but we have seen that his hatred of the Janissaries can be traced much earlier than its overt manifestation. His action on behalf of the Christians begins after 1830 (Ubicini, ii, 111), resulting in the edict of Gulhane published some months after his death.

[6] Eliot, *Turkey in Europe*, pp. 185 f. As to their relations with

enlisted them as his allies. By some he was said himself to have been a lay member of their Order,[1] which is not impossible.[2] Certainly his minister Halid Efendi [3] was in close touch with them: it was he who rebuilt the convent of the Mevlevi in Galata,[4] where his own head was for a time buried.[5] Further, Halid was an unscrupulous enemy of the Janissary-Bektashi combina-

local Christians, Sir Charles Eliot heard on good authority that during the Armenian massacres of 1895–6 the Christians of Konia owed their immunity largely to the influence of the Mevlevi; this is confirmed by a Greek author (Antonopoulos, *Μικρὰ Ἀσία*, p. 214). The same was said at the time of the Adana massacres (Ramsay, *Revolution in Turkey*, pp. 202, 207, confirmed to me by Dr. Post of Konia). On the early relations of the Mevlevi with local Christians see above, p. 370 ff. Since 1634 the Order has had an official position with regard to them, since the revenues derived from the *rayah* population of Konia were conferred on them by Murad IV (d'Ohsson, *Tableau*, ii, 309).

[1] Pardoe, *City of the Sultans*, i, 55, ii, 62; J. P. Brown, *Dervishes*, p. 346.

[2] Abdul Hamid is variously said to have belonged to the Bektashi (Eliot, *Turkey in Europe*, p. 182) and the Rifai (White, in *Trans. Vict. Inst.* xi (1908), p. 235, Ramsay, *Impressions of Turkey*, p. 149) Orders. The latter seems to be the correct version. The Rifai claim that Abdul Hamid was converted by a dream in which, seeing himself attacked by a snake, he called for help on the founder of the Order. The snake vanished and the Sultan at once sent for a Rifai sheikh and was admitted to the Order. To this circumstance may be attributed his selection of the Rifai Ebul Huda as an adviser (Jacob, *Beiträge*, p. 47, n. 2). I am told by a former consul at Mosul that the Young Turks at the beginning of their régime made an attempt to destroy the tomb of Ahmed Rifai near that place. The Bektashi, on the other hand, I am told on good authority, voted solid for the Young Turks, though Abdul Hamid did not persecute them.

[3] Halid Efendi, the *nishanji* of Mahmud, was at the height of his power in 1820 (Ubicini, *op. cit.* ii, 102) and lost his head over the ill-success of the Greek War, which he had advised for purposes of his own. The story of his fall is told in Walsh's *Journey*, pp. 70 ff.; he was overtaken by the Sultan's courier while on his way to seek refuge with the Mevlevi at Konia.

[4] R. Walsh, *Journey*, p. 70; Burgess, *Greece and the Levant*, ii, 223.

[5] Pardoe, *op. cit.* i, 53; Frankland, *Constantinople*, i, 133.

tion,[1] and advocated the war with Ali Pasha,[2] whose power seems to have been bound up with the Bektashi of Albania.[3]

Sultan Abdul Mejid, a reformer like his father, also favoured the Mevlevi.[4] Of the head of the Mevlevi at Galata in his reign Rolland says: 'il est en effet l'une des bonnes têtes de l'empire . . . Ami de Mahmoud, le chef actuel des Tourneurs fut au nombre de ces instruments ignorés mais efficaces, qui travaillèrent le plus puissamment au triomphe de la Réforme. Personne autant que lui n'aida le défunt empereur à déjouer l'opposition de l'Uléma, à percer par la voie des interprétations théologiques les obstacles du Koran.'[5] The passage probably refers to the same person who represented the Mevlevi on the religious council which condemned the Bektashi in 1826.[6]

We may thus claim to have made out a case for the political combination of the sultan with the Mevlevi order against (1) the Janissaries and their allies the Bektashi dervishes, and (2) the party of the Ulema.

The Mevlevi order carried off a trophy from each of these antagonists. Whereas hitherto the Superior of the Bektashi had held the official rank of colonel in the

[1] Walsh, *Constantinople*, ii, 92, *Journey*, p. 72; MacFarlane, *Constantinople in 1828*, ii, 131 ff.

[2] Walsh, *Journey*, p. 70.

[3] Ali boasted that he was a Bektashi and for political ends favoured and made use of the Order: see above, pp. 377–8.

[4] MacFarlane, *Turkey and its Destiny*, ii, 229 ff. *Cf.* i, 200; also W. F. Lynch, *Expedition to the Jordan*, p. 89.

[5] C. Rolland, *La Turquie Contemporaine* (1854), p. 223: the information came from Prince Ghika.

[6] Assad Efendi, *Destr. des Janissaires*, p. 315. The Galata *tekke* of the Mevlevi takes precedence of all their foundations in the capital and is supposed to be a foundation of Mohammed II. It was built in 1491–2 and rebuilt in 1795–6 by Selim III (Mordtmann in *Encycl. of Islam*, sv. *Constantinople*, p. 875). For a striking account of this *tekke* and the power of its head see Osman Bey, *Les Imans et les Derviches*, p. 100.

ninety-ninth *oda* of Janissaries,[1] the Superior of the Mevlevi received from Mahmud II the grade of marshal (*mushir*) in the newly organized army.[2] Similarly, the privilege of the Mufti at the Girding of the sultan was transferred to the Superior of the Mevlevi.

The secret history of the Girding of Mahmud II will probably never be known ; in all probability the then Mufti, from fear or interest, refused to officiate at the ceremony and the highest dignitary of the Mevlevi order was called in to take his place in consequence. The story of the reluctance of the Mufti to be present, while his successful rival girded Abdul Mejid, seems to show that the situation was still strained in 1839. But the privilege of the Mevlevi has continued to our own day to perpetuate no misty connexion with the Seljuk house of Rum, but the victory gained by Mahmud II with their help over the reactionary ecclesiastical party, just as the military grade of their Superior may be held to commemorate the part taken by their order against the military party of reaction represented by the Janissaries and Bektashi.

[1] D'Ohsson, *Tableau*, ii, 312.

[2] Cuinet, *Turquie d'Asie*, i, 829 ; Jacob, *Beiträge*, p. 9.

XLVII

COLUMNS OF ORDEAL [1]

NO self-respecting Cairene dragoman omits to point out to his clients among the curiosities of the mosque of Amr at Fostat two columns near the south door, which are endowed, according to popular superstition, with the miraculous power of discriminating between true Moslems and Unbelievers.[2] Placed at such a short distance apart (some ten inches) that the passage between them can with difficulty be negotiated by a man of average build, the columns none the less allow a true Moslem, however stout, to pass between them, while an Unbeliever, however slim, finds passage impossible. In other words, the space is supernaturally widened if necessary to accommodate the former and contracted to exclude the latter class.

The columns actually used for this purpose at Cairo do not seem long to have been associated with the superstition. Visitors to the mosque in the sixties do not mention it, though they refer to the companion marvel of the column miraculously transported from Mecca.[3] The superstition itself, however, is of great antiquity and relatively well documented. The purpose of the rite, a spiritual test, distinguishes it sharply from the many similar 'passing through' rituals universally current and generally considered 'lucky' acts practised with a view to the healing of disease, &c.[4] Its symbolism, as we shall see, suggests a Christian origin. A study of

[1] This chapter is reprinted from *B.S.A.* xxiv, 68 ff.

[2] Murray, *Egypt* (1900), pp. 380–1; Sladen, *Orient. Cairo*, p. 183, and *Queer Things about Egypt*, p. 198; Goldziher, *Culte des Saints . . . Musulmans*, in *Rev. Hist. Relig.* ii (1880), p. 345.

[3] See, *e.g.* Petermann, *Reisen im Orient*, ii, 384.

[4] See above, pp. 182 ff.

its developments or ramifications into various parts both of the Christian and Mohammedan worlds may therefore be attempted with more than usual accuracy and is thus of considerable interest and value for the study of kindred phenomena.

A more appropriate place of origin for a superstition so distinctly theological in character and shared by the two great religions of the eastern Mediterranean could not be found than Jerusalem ; and we shall not go far astray if we accept it hypothetically as such. Certainly it is from Jerusalem that the earliest record comes to us of the ordeal of passage, and at Jerusalem that the rite continued to be practised, though on varying holy sites, almost to our own day. In 723 S. Willibald, on pilgrimage to the Holy City, visited on his round the church of the Ascension on the Mount of Olives. Here, he says, stood two columns ' within the church, against the north wall and the south wall, in memory of the two men who said, " Men of Galilee, why stand ye gazing up into heaven ? " [1] And the man who can creep between the wall and the columns will have remission of his sins.' [2]

It does not seem possible, with the knowledge at our disposal, to refine on Willibald's account as to the position of the columns. The point of the ordeal was certainly, as at Cairo, that the aperture, here between the columns and the wall, was narrow, and we may perhaps assume from this the fairly usual Byzantine

[1] *Acts*, i, 11.

[2] Ed. Wright, p. 19. The original text runs : ' illa ecclesia est desuper patula et sine tecto ; et ibi stant duae columnae intus in Ecclesia contra parietem Aquilonis, et contra parietem meridionalis plagae. Illae sunt ibi in memoriam et in signum duorum virorum qui dixerunt : Viri Galilaei, quid statis adspicientes in coelum ? Et ille homo, qui ibi potest inter parietem et columnas repere, liber est a peccatis suis ' (Willibaldus, *Vita seu Hodoeporicon*, p. 376, in Mabillon, *Acta SS. Ord. Bened., Saec.* III, pt. ii, pp. 365 ff. ; also in *Camisii Thesaurus*, ed. Basnage, ii, 111–12, quoted by Tobler, *Siloahq.*, pp. 94–5).

arrangement of a column facing an anti-pilaster in the adjoining wall. The symbolism of the 'Men of Galilee' seems certainly no more than an ingenuity: that of the rite itself seems to depend on the texts of S. Matthew, which use the image of a narrow passage to illustrate the difficulty of salvation.[1] At the same time we may bear in mind the special significance in the church of the Ascension, marking the spot where Christ entered into heaven, of two texts frequently displayed in Greek churches. These are (1) 'this is none other than the House of God, *this is the gate of heaven*'[2] and (2) 'this is the *gate of the Lord: the righteous shall enter into it*'.[3] And it is not impossible that these were written over, or in close proximity to, the two narrow openings through which it was customary in Willibald's time for pilgrims to pass as a test of grace.[4]

As to the exact meaning of Willibald's *liber est a peccatis suis*, it is perhaps impossible to dogmatize, but some light may be thrown on the subject by the parallel of Mount Sinai. Here the ascent of the holy mountain was restricted to pilgrims who had been duly confessed, and a certificate of confession was required of them at the beginning of the ascent, which was marked by a gateway. The restriction was justified by the text, 'Who shall go up to the holy hill of the Lord and who shall stand in His holy place? He that hath clean hands

[1] *Matt.* vii, 13–14 ('Enter ye in at the strait gate . . . strait is the gate and narrow is the way which leadeth unto life'), and xix, 24 ('It is easier for a camel to go through the eye of a needle than for a rich man to enter into the kingdom of God'). *Cf. Mark* x, 25; *Luke* xviii, 25.

[2] *Gen.* xxviii, 17.

[3] *Ps.* cxviii, 20: Burckhardt notes the presence of this text over a door in the village of Shmerrin (*Syria*, p. 105).

[4] Similarly, on the way from Mecca to Arafat there are two pillars of whitewashed stones, called el Alameyn, about 80–100 paces apart; pilgrims must pass between them on their way to, and still more from, Arafat (Burckhardt, *Arabia*, i, 113).

and a pure heart.' [1] Felix Fabri informs us [2] that Jews, who according to medieval ideas were vicariously guilty of Christ's blood and therefore could not have ritually clean hands, were supernaturally prevented from passing the gate.[3] It may have been the custom to confess pilgrims before admitting them to the sanctuary of the holy hill of Olivet.[4]

What appears to be a variant of the same rite in the church of the Ascension, due probably to structural alterations involving the removal or modification of the original passages,[5] is described by Felix Fabri as practised in his time by oriental Christians. This rite consisted in embracing a certain column of the church. If the pilgrim could span it so as to make his fingers touch, it was welcomed as a happy omen,[6] but *of what*

[1] *Ps.* xxiv, 3–4. My authority is E. H. Palmer, *Desert of the Exodus*, p. 105, quoting R. Clayton's *Journey to Mt. Sinai by the Prefetto of Egypt* (1722). According to G. Ebers (*Durch Gosen*, pp. 313 f.) a second paper was also given to them at the convent to be given up at the second gate. [2] *Evagat.* ii, 455.

[3] Similar cases of supernatural intervention for religious reasons are given by Petachia, *Tour du Monde*, in *Nouv. Jour. As.* viii (1831), pp. 296–300 (tomb of Ezechiel surrounded by a wall without a gate and with only a hole through which Jews crawl: on the Feast of Tabernacles, however, it enlarges so that a man on a camel may pass through), and by Mandeville, ed. Wright, p. 199 (Mohammed's entry into a small low hermit's chapel in the desert of Arabia caused the low entrance to become ' so great, and so large, and so high, as though it had been of a great minster, or the gate of a palace ').

[4] Near the tombs of Hillel and Shammai at Meron there was a stone basin found full of water by pious persons, but empty by the impious, though the basin had no outlet (Petachia, *loc. cit.*, p. 392, quoted by Carmoly, *Itinéraires*, p. 311). The pious could pass under the suspended coffin of Daniel at Susa, but not the impious (Petachia, *oc. cit.*, p. 366).

[5] In the interval between the two accounts the church had been rebuilt by the Crusaders and destroyed by Saladin (Tobler, *Siloahq.*, p. 97).

[6] ' Putant autem illi superstitiosi orientales, quod ille, qui id facere potest, sit magis fortunatus, et quod sit signum cujusdam magni boni ' (Fabri, *Evagat.*, ii, 134).

Fabri does not know or contemptuously declines to state. We shall see, however, that the ritual has a place in the story of the 'Columns of Ordeal'.

In the crypt containing the tomb of S. Pelagia,[1] which is in the immediate vicinity of the church of the Ascension, the rite described by Willibald seems to have survived in a slightly modified form. It is described by two Greek pilgrims of (approximately) 1185 and 1250,[2] and again by Felix Fabri[3] in 1489. All the accounts are substantially in accord. It was customary for penitents to squeeze through the narrow passage between the tomb and the wall of the crypt, their ability to do this being considered as proof that they were in a state of grace: if their previous confession had been defective, they were unable to pass. Here again the reminiscence of Sinai is strong. It is curious to note that Saint Pelagia is known to Mohammedans as the daughter of Hasan el Masri,[4] and that the tomb of Hasan el Basri has a similar peculiarity to hers.[5]

The seventeenth century sees a reappearance of the same superstition, again in a slightly modified form, in yet another Christian building, the church of the Holy

[1] Her cell and tomb are traceable back to 600 A.D. (Antoninus of Piacenza) according to Tobler, *Siloahq.*, p. 126.

[2] *Anon. Allatii*, p. 87, *de locis Hierosol.* (in L. Allatius, *Σύμμικτα* vol. i), *c.* 1185 (Tobler, *Siloahq.*, p. 130, puts the *Anon. c.* 1400), and Perdiccas (in L. Allatius, *Σύμμικτα*, i, 72) *c.* 1250.

[3] *Evagat.* i, 398: *cf.* Grethenius in Khitrovo, *Itin. Russes*, p. 180.

[4] 'Rabahet Bent Hassan el Masri' (Tobler, *Siloahq.*, p. 126). Pelagia's tomb was sometimes confounded with that of S. Mary of Egypt (*el Masri*), her history being similar to the Magdalene's (Tobler, *Siloahq.*, p. 133). It became difficult of access for Christians about 1500, according to Tobler, *Siloahq.*, p. 131, when a mosque was built over it. Mejir-ed-din (p. 132) at this date says it was much visited by pilgrims, but he does not mention the grave.

[5] Niebuhr, *Voyage en Arabie*, ii, 181 (Old Basra). His *kubbe* fell twice, whereupon he appeared and said he wished no *kubbe* but a tower, his tomb to be against the wall to prevent circumambulation. See Hasluck, *Letters*, p. 189, for his connexion with S. Pelagia.

Sepulchre. It seems indeed as if Moslem encroachments were continually driving it to new surroundings.

Near the chapel of Christ's Prison, Doubdan,[1] in 1652, notices two small columns between which and the wall pilgrims squeezed their way, confident that a successful passage was an index, not of remission of sins, but of legitimacy. The same superstition is described by Nau in 1674,[2] who, however, makes the passage between the two columns themselves. To the complete change in the object of the ritual we shall return in the discussion of the Moslem variants. Side by side with it was current, as we see from Le Bruyn's account,[3] the idea of proving that the penitent was in a state of grace.

Of the chapel of S. Longinus in the Sepulchre church Kelly says :[4]

'Beneath one of the altars lies a stone having a hole through it, and placed in a short trough, so that it seems impossible for anything but a spectre to pass through the hole. Nevertheless the achievement was a customary penance among the Greeks, and called by them "Purgatory"; until a lady, *enceinte*, in labouring to drag herself through it, came to some mischief; and ever since that accident, the Turks have in mercy guarded the stone by an iron grating.'

This concludes the record of the columns of ordeal in Christian sanctuaries at Jerusalem, unless we include as such the unsatisfactory mention of a similar rite, of which the purpose is not stated, practised in the church of Mount Zion in Crusading times :

Ante Chorum quaedam pretiosi marmoris columna juxta murum posita est, quam simplices homines circummigrare solent.[5]

[1] *Terre Sainte* 1651–2, p. 75. [2] M. Nau, *Terre Sainte*, pp. 193 f.

[3] *Voyage* (1683), ii, 258 ff.

[4] Kelly, *Syria*, p. 367, quoting Vere Monro, *Summer Ramble in Syria* [1835], pp. 216–17. A similar story is cited from d'Estourmel, *Journal*, ii, 93 [1832], by Tobler (*Golgatha* [1851], p. 337), in whose time the tradition seems to have been forgotten.

[5] Theodericus, *De Locis Sanctis* (*c.* 1172), ed. Tobler, p. 56.

Summing up, we may distinguish two modifications of the oldest form of the rite (passing between column and wall) and a complete bifurcation of its purpose :

(*a*) At S. Pelagia's, passage is not between column and wall but between tomb and wall.

(*b*) In the Holy Sepulchre church, passage is between column and wall or between two columns.

(*c*) In the later ritual of the Ascension church, passage of any sort is abandoned in favour of embracing the single column used for the rite. The original symbolism is lost, but it must be noted that the object of the later rite is not stated.

The first record of the practice by Moslems of the column ordeal is no earlier than the middle of the seventeenth century. The place is Jerusalem and the building the Dome of the Rock. It is of course unsafe to infer that the practice is not earlier, particularly as the whole Haram area, and especially the interior of the Dome of the Rock, was rigorously forbidden to non-Moslems down to our own time. But the silence of both Crusaders and Moslem writers on the subject, and the warning of one of the latter (Mejir-ed-Din) [1] against the superstitious practice of the Christians on the Mount of Olives makes it likely that the column ordeal in the Dome of the Rock is not much more ancient than our first records. It will be further noted that the Dome of the Rock, whence Mohammed took his miraculous flight to heaven, makes the rite appropriate in the same sense as it is appropriate for Christians in the church of the Ascension : and that the traditional identification of the Rock as Bethel,[2] the scene of Jacob's vision,[3] makes it a second time a symbolical entry to heaven. Further, that the text *Matthew*

[1] A.D. 1495, quoted by Tobler, *Siloahq.*, p. 124. *Cf.* the long and explicit description of the building given by Frater Philippus de Aversa, for which see *Z.D.P.V.* i, 210 ff.

[2] Lubomirski, *Jérusalem*, p. 272.

[3] *Gen.* xxviii, 17.

xix, 24, is familiar to Moslems from its adaptation in the Koran,[1] which says that unbelievers shall not 'enter into paradise, until a camel pass through the eye of a needle'. Finally, we must point out, as at least an extraordinary series of coincidences, that the crypt of the Dome of the Rock passed for the place where Christ forgave the adulterous woman, and was thence known in Frankish times as *confessio*,[2] exactly as the cave below the church of the Ascension, in which the ex-harlot Pelagia passed her days of penitence, was known as ἁγία ὁμολόγησις.

The two accounts of the column ordeal as practised in the middle seventeenth century by Moslems in the Dome of the Rock, refer to an identical pair of columns, distinct from those of the structure itself, and placed near the western entrance. Brother Eugène Roger (1653) says that it was commonly said of them that any one who could pass easily between them was predestined for the Moslem paradise, and that if a Christian made the attempt he would inevitably be crushed by them.[3] D'Arvieux (1660), our second authority, says that they were used as an oracle of *legitimacy* and that bastards were unable to make the passage, at least not without great difficulty.[4] The practice of the ordeal on the Dome of the Rock is not cited by any subsequent writer. The association of the two ideas, (1) fitness for heaven and (2) legitimacy, has already met us at the Holy Sepulchre and will meet us again later. What is the point of contact between the two ideas?

A possible answer may be found in the fact that in Moslem, and to a certain extent also in Jewish, theology

[1] vii, 38 (Sale's ed., p. 108).

[2] Tobler, *Topogr. von Jerusalem*, i, 544: *cf.* Theodericus, *De Locis Sanctis*, pp. 43, 123.

[3] Chateaubriand, *Itinér.* ii, 376.

[4] *Mémoires*, ii, 210 f., retailing information gathered from monks employed in repairing the windows of the mosque.

the relation of the soul to the Creator is habitually figured by that of a wife to her husband. As the chief virtue of a man is faithfulness to God, so that of a woman is faithfulness to her husband: infidelity is in either case the cardinal sin.[1] On the fidelity of the wife depends the legitimacy of her offspring, and both would be satisfactorily tested if a pregnant woman passed successfully between the miraculous columns. The passage of pregnant women is indeed several times mentioned, though it is obvious that the rite was shared by others (possibly at first babies) with the object of proving their own legitimacy.[2]

The ordeal of the columns is found a second time under Moslem auspices in Jerusalem at the mosque El Aksa in the Haram. Here it is mentioned by numerous authors of the seventies,[3] and Conder tells us that it was forbidden in 1881, when the space between the columns was blocked by an iron bar to prevent the passage. The purpose of the rite seems to have been exclusively to test the suppliant's fitness for heaven.

[1] For the same collocation of ideas note that in judging the markings of Arab horses a star on the shank is held to presage that the animal's owner will be of doubtful orthodoxy as a Mussulman, and that his wife will be unfaithful (Kelly, *Syria*, p. 446).

[2] Predestination includes a wide range of ideas among which are (1) virtue, (2) freedom from mortal sin, (3) state of grace, (4) belief (for Moslems), the central idea being fitness for heaven. It is not the same idea for Moslems as legitimacy, although Islam allows special privileges to 'founders' kin', the legitimacy of whose descent from the Prophet might reasonably be supposed to be tested by any given test of grace. Jews and Mohammedans both accept proselytes, it will be remembered.

[3] Conder, *Jerusalem*, p. 232; Lady Burton, *Inner Life of Syria*, p. 379; J. A. Bost, *Souvenirs d'Orient* (1874) Pierotti, *Légendes Racontées*, pp. 33 f. (he says they are *verd-antique* in colour and taper): Lubomirski, *Jérusalem* (1878), p. 277. De Vogüé, *Syrie*, pp. 202 f., gives an amusing description of the ceremony. Tobler, in his *Topogr. von Jerusalem* (1853), does not mention the superstition: it will be remembered that access to the Haram was still in his time almost impossible.

Outside Jerusalem the rite has been copied (apparently) at Urfa (Edessa) in the Jacobite crypt of S. Ephraem under the Armenian monastery of S. Sergius, though no definite purpose is attributed to it by our single authority,[1] who says, ' Before the grave is a rock-hewn column near the wall, between which and the wall everyone tries to pass '.

What seems a certain case of plagiarism from the rite of S. Pelagia's church is found at Hassa Keui in Cappadocia, the alleged place of burial of S. Makrina, sister of S. Gregory. Pilgrims to the tomb ordinarily circumambulate it, but if they have made a vow to the saint which they have failed to fulfil, they are arrested by a supernatural force at a place where a corner of the sarcophagus approaches to within a few inches of the wall.[2]

Another derivative from the original rite of the Ascension church, very possibly dating from the Crusades,[3] is at Nivelles in Belgium, where, in the church of S. Gertrude, ' dans une chapelle . . . un pilier monolithe de 1m 30 de hauteur et de 24 c. de diamètre environ, sans utilité spéciale dans la bâtisse, est appuyé sur une base reliée au mur et distancée du sol par deux marches.

[1] H. Petermann, *Reisen im Orient*, ii, 354.

[2] Carnoy and Nicolaides, *Trad. de l'Asie Mineure*, p. 206. For analogies see above, p. 627.

[3] Similarly, the legend of S. Hubert spread from Rome to Belgium because many relics had been carried there, see above, p. 464. Secular counterparts of the dispersion of stories of the saints are found in two legends related by Baring Gould (*Curious Myths*, 2nd series, pp. 206 ff., 314 ff.). The first is the legend of Melusine, the fairy ancestress of the Lusignans of Poitou, the second tells how an ancestor of the Belgian Godefroi de Bouillon met Beatrice, a mysterious woman, near a fountain, and eventually married her. That is, two Persian-coloured tales of fairy ancestors were told in Poitou and Belgium of noble houses which became conspicuously famous *in the Crusades*. Troubadours were the main agents in the circulation of such stories, but another important factor was the settlement of Crusaders in their newly conquered lands in the East; see Hasluck, *Letters*, pp. 117–18.

Le peuple prétend que toute personne qui n'est pas en état de grâce ne peut passer entre le mur et le pilier : l'espacement est environ de 30 centimètres.' [1]

On the Moslem side the three examples from northern Africa which follow are quite clearly derivatives from the Jerusalem prototypes, all having in common both the form of the rite, passage between columns, and its main object, proof of orthodox religious sentiments.

To the Columns of Ordeal in the mosque of Amr at Fostat (Old Cairo) we have already referred. Though the main purpose of the ordeal here is as above stated, Douglas Sladen, in his *Queer Things about Egypt*,[2] hints that they are also used as a test of women's chastity. We have already remarked that the practice does not seem here to be ancient, probably deriving directly from the Aksa mosque at Jerusalem. Similar Columns of Ordeal are mentioned as existing in the mosque of Amr at Damietta. The space between them may be traversed only by ' the virtuous ', presumably, here as elsewhere, persons in a state of grace or believers.[3] At the mosque of Sidi Okba in the holy city of Kairuan in Tunisia are likewise a pair of such columns : [4] they are of red porphyry and are used as a test of Moslem orthodoxy or as a cure for rheumatism ! Like those of El Aksa, they taper towards the top, so that with a little chicanery a tall man stands a better chance of passing than a shorter patient of like build.

Vaujany speaks of the Columns of Ordeal as a not infrequent feature in Egyptian mosques. Considering the importance of the mosques of Amr and Sidi Okba, it

[1] Sébillot, *Folk-Lore de France*, iv, 157, quoting O. Colson in *Wallonia*, iii, 15. Sébillot's very thorough work gives no parallel in the French area. S. Gertrude's is a Benedictine abbey church founded by S. Gertrude in 645.

[2] P. 198 : *cf.* his *Orient. Cairo*, p. 183.

[3] Vaujany, *Alexandrie*, p. 205. For another column of predestination, this time at Bethlehem, see Tobler, *Bethlehem*, p. 90.

[4] Poiré, *Tunisie Française*, Paris, 1892, pp. 187–8.

would not be surprising to find them widely distributed in North Africa.

Two cases of an ordeal involving passage between natural rocks as a test of spiritual acceptability may be here cited. (1) At Haji Bektash, the chief seat of the (Shia) Bektashi sect, pilgrims make the passage of a natural rock tunnel with a view to proving their sincerity of purpose. The aperture is narrow, and it is customary for the pilgrim to remove his arms before making the attempt: with arms, passage is reputed impossible, though, according to my informants, a certain Albanian *bey*, who refused to conform to the rule, passed successfully; he was rewarded for his presumption by an early death.[1] (2) Of a closely similar rite in Morocco I am informed by a friend long resident in Fez, whose words I quote.

'An eyewitness here, credible, informs me that there is at a mountain sanctuary called Mulaï Abdslam bel Meshish, a well-known place in the mountains south of Tetuan, just outside the shrine, a sort of cave, with a narrow entrance between two rocks. Only one who is "murda" can pass in. If not "murda", the rocks would crush you. "Murda" is a technical word meaning "acceptable" with special reference to God and your parents. The local tradition in this place seems to know nothing of bastardy: it is morals of which it is the touchstone.'[2]

The close resemblance of these two instances may be merely fortuitous, or both may alike depend on a prototype unknown to us, possibly in the Shia holy places. Their ultimate relation with the Jerusalem group must be regarded as 'not proven' pending further evidence or indication.

Two instances of embracing a column for oracular purposes, as in the second phase of the Ascension church ritual, may or may not be connected with our series.

[1] From Ali Kemal Bey Klissura, and his brother, Fadil Bey.

[2] From Mr. J. M. Dawkins.

The embracing ritual in itself is early and obviously derives from the enthusiastic salutation of the venerated object by pilgrims. It is mentioned in connexion with the column of Flagellation on Mount Zion by Antoninus of Piacenza.[1]

The first of these instances is at Kufa, one of the great holy places of Shia Islam, where there is a piece of a column, reputed brought thither by Ali himself. This is used as an oracle of legitimacy, bastards being unable to make their fingers meet round it.[2] The second is at Alexandrovo in Serbian Macedonia, where the *tekke* of the Bektashi dervishes contains a miraculous square pillar, which, supposedly brought there by a Bosnian saint, is embraced by pilgrims. If they can make the fingers of their two hands meet round the pillar, their prayer is granted.[3]

The connexion of the two Shia rites seems obvious, the generalization of the purpose of the ordeal in the derivative at Alexandrovo being characteristic. It would be dangerous without further evidence to connect them with the second ritual of the Ascension church, though it will be remarked that the purpose of the latter has not come down to us.

[1] Ed. Tobler, xxii, p. 24; Kelly, *Syria*, p. 366.
[2] Niebuhr, *Voyage en Arabie*, ii, 216.
[3] Evans in *J.H.S.* xxi, 203: see further above, p. 277.

XLVIII

THE STYLITE HERMIT OF THE OLYMPIEUM

ALL early drawings of the Olympieum at Athens, from Carrey's downwards,[1] show on part of the architrave a rubble building of peculiar form, which has been removed only in comparatively recent years.[2] So many writers allude to this building as the dwelling of a Stylite hermit that the statement has passed unquestioned into Gregorovius' standard work on Athens in the Middle Ages.[3] A closer examination of our sources, however, makes it abundantly clear that the Stylite hermit of the Olympieum is a product of the imagination alone and had no historical existence. We will examine first the testimony of our authors as to the hermit, and secondly the nature of his supposed cell.

The first allusion to the hermit is no earlier than 1739. Pococke, after his description of the rubble building on the architrave (to which we shall return), continues sceptically: 'some imagine that the palace of Adrian was built on those high pillars, but this wall [*i.e.* the supposed cell] appears to be modern . . . and *they pretend to say*, that some hermit lived in that airy building.'[4] Chandler's testimony is similar: '*you are told* it has been the habitation of a hermit, doubtless of

[1] Omont, *Athènes au XVII^e Siècle*, pl. xxii.

[2] Apparently in the seventies: *cf.* Transfeldts in *Ath. Mitth.* i (1870), p. 112, n. 1.

[3] Gregorovius, *Stadt Athen*, i, 68: *cf.* Julliard, *Voyages Incohérents*, pp. 301 f., who mentions this as a fact and with details so late as the beginning of this century.

[4] *Descr. of the East*, II, ii, 166. Before this date most took it for remains of Hadrian's palace (*e.g.* Randolph, *Morea*, p. 22).

a Stylites'.[1] Dodwell, in 1805, says 'it is *supposed to have been* the aerial residence of a Stylites hermit',[2] Hobhouse, in 1809, that '*Greeks and Turks declare it* to have been the habitation of a Saint'.[3] Turner, in 1814, 'was told' quite a different legend, viz. that 'on a piece of the architrave between two of them [*i.e.* the columns] a Greek, in the time of a terrible plague that infested Athens, built a small chamber of brick, to which he ascended with cords, drawing them up after him'.[4] The discrepancy need not trouble us, since none of these traditions have more truth in them than the frankly supernatural story told by an old Albanian woman to Dodwell, that the so-called Stylite's Cell was full of treasure and guarded by an Arab who made his abode there and by night jumped from column to column.[5]

As the century goes on the Stylite story becomes accepted and grows more detailed and explicit, but the only author whose account can be construed as the record of an eyewitness is Frankland, who is ambiguous: 'a Fakir, or Dervish, had contrived to ensconce himself upon the remains of the Epistylia in one angle of the colonnade.'[6] Lacour, in 1832, has the story with more detail: 'de nos jours, un Ermite a vécu pendant dix-huit ans sur l'architrave des cinquième et sixième colonnes de la face orientale; c'est au moyen d'une échelle de corde, qu'on lui envoyait les provisions de la semaine; il y resta six années sans en descendre.'[7] Baird was told by an Athenian friend in the fifties a similar story of a hermit who lived 'many years ago'.[8]

[1] *Travels in Greece*, ii, 87.

[2] *Tour through Greece*, i, 389: his companion, Pomardi, gives the tale with more detail, qualifying his statements with the phrase 'al dire de' naturali' (*Viaggio nella Grecia*, i, 150).

[3] *Albania*, i, 322.

[4] *Tour in the Levant*, i, 379.

[5] *Op. cit.*, i, 390.

[6] *Constantinople*, i, 302.

[7] *Excursions en Grèce*, p. 185.

[8] *Modern Greece*, 1856, p. 52: *cf.* Byzantios, who, in a footnote to

As we have said, no author, with the possible exception of Frankland, claims to have seen the hermit. Lady Craven, in 1786, says vaguely that he was long since dead,[1] as do Laurent [2] and Trant [3]; Michaud that he died a few years ago,[4] d'Estourmel that he lived in the last century;[5] Lacour dates him, as we have seen, 'in our own times'.

To sum up, the tale is first told in the first half of the eighteenth century. Pococke, Chandler, Dodwell, and Hobhouse do not believe it. Subsequent writers at short intervals accept the tradition, but date the hermit at various periods, all before their own visits to Athens, with the solitary exception of Frankland (1827). The latter's visit falls between those of Laurent (1818) and Trant (1830), both of whom knew of the hermit as long since dead. It seems quite evident that Frankland's notice, ambiguous at best, cannot be accepted as an eyewitness's account.

When we turn to examine the supposed Stylite's cell itself, it is obvious that it was ill-adapted for a human dwelling-place. Pococke describes it as 'a wall built with three passages in it, one over another, and openings in it one over another, and openings at the side like windows and doors'.[6] It is so represented in the drawings, of which the most exact are Stuart and Revett's.[7] What purpose could such a perforated wall, perched on columns sixty feet high, have served?

The system of water-conduits generally employed in Turkey substitutes for the continuous arcaded aqueducts of Roman times a series of detached towers (*su*

his *Κωνσταντινούπολις*, (ii (1862), p. 94), mentions the *οἰκίσκος . . . ἐν ᾧ ἐστυλοβάτει Δερβίσης τις, καθὰ λέγουσιν, ἐπὶ Τουρκοκρατίας.*

[1] *Journey to Constantinople* (1786), p. 259.
[2] *Classical Tour*, p. 96.
[3] *Journey through Greece* (1830), p. 265.
[4] *Corresp. d'Orient* (1833–5), i, 161 (1830).
[5] *Journal* (1844), i, 97.
[6] *Loc. cit.* [7] *Ant. of Athens*, III, ii, pl. 1; III, iii, pl. 1.

terazi or ' water balances '), placed at suitable intervals, which serve the double purpose of checking an over-rapid flow of the water (and so easing the strain on the pipes), and facilitating the inspection and repair of the channels.

' Upon the side nearest to the channel of supply they are furnished with earthen pipes, through which the fluid, ascending by its own impulse, mounts to the summit. Here the ascending pipes terminate, and discharge their contents into a small *moossluk* (water gauge or cistern) lined with *khorassan* and *lukium*.[1] Upon the opposite side are one or more orifices, from two to three inches lower than the supplying tubes. After circulating, and being exposed to the pressure and renovating action of the atmosphere, the water departs through these orifices, and descends through pipes communicating with underground channels, which convey it to the next *Souteraxy* . . . or distribute it to lateral tanks.' [2]

The height of such water-towers is of course conditioned ultimately by that of the fountain-head serving the aqueduct : some are as high as ninety feet.[3] The cistern on top is generally open to the air.

It seems possible that in the rubble building on the architrave of the Olympieum we have the remains of a triple series of cisterns or clearing-chambers from a Turkish aqueduct, the already existing columns of the Olympieum being utilized to avoid the expense of building a water-tower. The ventilation of the lower two cisterns was secured by openings in the side-walls.

An aqueduct was brought into Turkish Athens in 1506–7 as the following note [4] from the ' Chronicle of Athens ' testifies :

Ἐν ἔτει ,ζιδ' Αὐγούστου κδ' ἄρχισεν τὸ κουντίτο τῆς Ἀθήνας καὶ ἀνηγέρθη ἡ βρύσις τοῦ Ἐξεχώρου καὶ ἀνεκαινίσθη ἡ βρύσις

[1] Kinds of cement (F. W. H.).
[2] C. White, *Constantinople*, ii, 28.
[3] Forchheimer and Strzygowski, *Byz. Wasserbehälter*, p. 24.
[4] Ed. Lambros in *Ἀθηναῖον*, vi (1877), p. 441.

τῆς χώρας διὰ συνδρομῆς τοῦ σκεντὲρ σούμπαση τοῦ 'Αλιμπασᾶ καὶ διὰ ἐξόδου τοῦ κόσμου ἐσέβη τὸ νερὸν 'Απριλίου κη' ἡμέρᾳ.

As to levels, if we assume that the water supply referred to entered the city from above the 'Kolonnaki' square (*Πλατεῖα τῆς Φιλικῆς Ἑταιρείας*) by the ancient aqueduct which still serves Athens,[1] we find that the drop from 'Kolonnaki' (134·1 m.)[2] to the Olympieum site (80·8 m.) is great, and water flowing thence could easily ascend the extra sixty feet afforded by the columns of the Olympieum serving as a water-tower. The purpose of bringing a conduit so far away from the town was obviously the supply of water to the citadel, in the outer works of which the Odeum (97·70 m. above sea-level) was then incorporated.

[1] Ziller in *Ath. Mitth.* ii, 120.

[2] These figures are from Cordellas' *Αἱ 'Αθῆναι ἐξεταζόμεναι ὑπὸ ὑδραυλικὴν ἔποψιν*, p. 18.

XLIX

WESTERN TRAVELLERS THROUGH EASTERN EYES

'A JOURNEY', says a Tradition of the Prophet, 'is a Fragment of Hell.' The western love of travel for travel's sake is a perpetual enigma to the eastern peasant. Travelling is both expensive and troublesome: sensible people only consent to expense and trouble as a means to an end, material or spiritual. The merchant who travels for ultimate gain, is understood: so is the pilgrim who visits Jerusalem or Mecca for the good of his soul. A man who confesses to travelling without a definite aim, or in search of knowledge, is either a madman or a very clever person masquerading as a madman. Consequently, elaborate explanations are sometimes brought forward to account for the curiosity of the 'Franks' concerning eastern countries. One such explanation is to the effect that westerns who die in the East are re-incarnated as young children [1] and are thus enabled to begin their lives over again. Generally, however, a more material view is taken. 'Franks' are known to have curious knowledge. 'The Franks are devils, they know everything,' was the (wholly admiring) comment of a Turkish peasant, when I produced a map showing the lake beside which his village was built. Further, hazy recollections and oft-repeated stories of Franks who appeared from nowhere and distributed quinine and pills to ailing villagers give colour to the belief that all Franks are doctors,[2] and,

[1] Turner, *Tour in the Levant*, iii, 512.

[2] A certain British Consul at Samsun in Asia Minor was constantly worried for remedies for fever by the natives. In despair, and hoping to end the nuisance, he gave them impressions of the consular seal on

disease being the work of *jinns*, medicine and magic in the East go together.

Thus, people who are doctors and use maps, who even know the name of a village before they have seen it, are magicians or little short of it. An archaeologist is perhaps beyond all others marked out as a dabbler in the occult. His interest in the crops is feeble : he has nothing to sell : his religion (if Franks have any, which is more than doubtful) is some sort of Christianity, so his objective in a Mohammedan country can hardly be a pilgrimage. On the other hand, he will part with good money to be shown such things as ruins and inscriptions. Everybody knows that ruins are likely places for buried treasure and that inscriptions are directions for locating it. Everybody, again, knows that treasures are guarded by spirits and that ordinary people cannot read ancient inscriptions, which are written in ' Frankish ' characters, probably cryptic at that. The inference is obvious. The affected interest of the archæologist in things ancient merely masks a treasure hunter [1] specially qualified by knowledge of the occult. Marvellous stories are current and implicitly believed, exemplifying the Frank's proverbial knowledge of his subject. Near Pergamon, so I was told by an otherwise shrewd Mytilenean, there was a village shop-keeper who owned an ' antica ' in the shape of a marble owl, which he kept in his shop. One evening a mysterious Frank arrived in the village, sat down at the shop, and made himself very agreeable, spending money right royally—as much as three and sixpence, some said. In consideration of his custom, the shop-keeper allowed him at his own request to spend the night, not in the best room,

paper. The patients drank the talisman soaked in water and found it so effective that the clamour for it became general (Van Lennep, *Travels in Asia Minor*, i, 285.)

[1] Miss Durham found herself suspected of this (*High Albania*, p. 56) : *cf.* Doughty, *Arabia*, ed. Garnett, i, 114.

which was offered and refused, but in the shop.... When his host came to wake him in the morning, the Frank had gone, the marble owl had been *unscrewed*, and its two halves, which were hollow, lay on the counter, and by them a gold coin. This told its own tale. The Frank had evidently got wind of the existence of the marble owl beforehand by the aid of his books, and had made his descent on the village with the express intention of securing the treasure concealed in it. If he left, out of gratitude to his host as was supposed, *one* gold piece on the counter, how many more must not the owl have yielded?

The books of the Franks are credited with containing all sorts of occult information on inscriptions and treasures. This idea is confirmed by the fact that an archæologist often does know of an inscription before he has seen it, but of course from quite prosaic archæological publications. Given the inscription, the treasure is easily found. The methods used by the Franks for carrying it off are various. They may remove the inscribed stone bodily and extract the treasure at their leisure. Some think the procedure is to bewitch the treasure so that the coins of which it is composed turn into flies,[1] and then to conjure the flies to betake themselves into the country of the Franks, where they can be re-transformed into coins. This method, though elaborate, has the advantage of avoiding the expense of carriage.

The boundary line between the adventures even of particular Franks and pure fairy story is slight indeed. The following story, told to Hamilton in 1836 by guides from Everek near Caesarea, shows the machinery of the folk-story unfettered by any consideration of probabilities.

'A traveller once came from Frangistan, in search of a rare

[1] Turner, *op. cit.*, iii, 513. In North Africa insects fly out to attack those who would rob the tomb of the Christian woman near Algiers (Berbrugger, *Tombeau de la Chrétienne*, pp. 36–8).

plant which grew only on the summit of Argaeus, having ten leaves round its stalk and a flower in the centre. The plant was guarded by a watchful serpent, which only slept one hour out of the four-and-twenty. The traveller in vain tried to persuade some of the natives to accompany him, and point out the way; none of them would venture, and at length he made the ascent alone. Failing, however, in his attempt to surprise the dragon, he was himself destroyed. He was afterwards discovered, *transformed into a book*, which was taken to Caesarea, and thence found its way back to Frangistan.' [1]

This astounding rigmarole affords a fine example of the atmosphere of magic and mystery which surrounds the wandering Frank: and it is some consolation to the western traveller, who often enough feels himself but a commonplace person in the East, to realize that he also may become in the mouths of the people the hero of such a fantastic, if ill-starred, Odyssey.

As a matter of fact, the hero of the Everek tale was real enough. Near the village is a modest gravestone [2] with the inscription 'Nathan Gridley, American Missionary from the United States, born in Farmington, Connecticut, 31 years and 35 days old, died 1827, Sept: 28'; then the same in Greek and Armenian.

Deceased was a medical missionary who lived here several years, serving alike all the inhabitants of Caesarea and making himself respected even by the fanatical Turks. Having paid a visit to Everek, he made up his mind to be the first of moderns to ascend the mountain on foot, as was his regular practice, trusting to his immense physical strength. He was at first accompanied by four Greeks, but he tired them out in the first four hours. Despite their warnings, he continued the ascent alone, till he sank, worn out, to the ground. It was only next morning that he was able to crawl painfully back with bleeding feet to Everek. He was put on a horse and taken to his own house at Erdenlik,

[1] Hamilton, *Asia Minor*, ii, 275. [2] Tschihatscheff, *Reisen*, p. 38.

where he died in three days from the effects of his exhaustion. *Les Grecs restaient convaincus qu'il était mort étouffé par le manque d'air.*[1]

The plant was evidently the magic flower *lampedona* (λαμπεδόνα), which is only to be distinguished at night by its luminosity and has the property of turning all it touches into gold. It grows habitually on the tops of mountains and Franks know of it and make gold with it.[2]

[1] Texier, *Asie Mineure* (1834), ii, 62. For a brief bibliography of Gridley see *Memoirs of American Missionaries formerly connected with the Society of Enquiry respecting Missions in the Andover Theological Seminary*, pp. 127–34. I have to thank Mr. L. D. Caskey for an extract from this publication, as also for a reference to Leonard Worcester, *A Sermon delivered at the Ordination of the Rev. Elnathan Gridley*, Boston (Crocker and Brewster), 1825.

[2] A Cretan monk inquired about it from Sieber (*Kreta*, i, 544) in the early part of last century. The existence of this flower is a widely spread superstition common to Greece and other countries of the Nearer East (Polites, *Παραδόσεις*, nos. 318 f., and note on no. 318, which gives a full bibliography on the subject). For its existence in Palestine see Hanauer, *Folk-Lore of the Holy Land*, p. 289 (also called 'tortoise herb'); for it in Egypt see Amélineau, *Contes de l'Égypte Chrétienne*, i, 149 (the 'morceau de bois qui change les créatures' made the Queen of Sheba's goat-foot human); for it on a mountain of the Soudan see G. J. H., *Blackwood's Magazine*, March, 1918, p. 406; in Arabia see Dorys, *La Femme Turque*, p. 173 (herb of youth and beauty on mountain near Mecca, but *long ago*); in Persia see Mrs. Bishop, *Journeys in Persia*, i, 321 (the authoress was thought to have come in search of it); in Crete see, besides the references quoted by Polites (*supra*), Dandini, *Voyage du Mont Liban*, pp. 17–18 (where it grows on Mt. Ida and turns the teeth of the animals that browse on it yellow); in Albania, on Mt. Tomor, see Berati in *L'Albanie*, April 1918. It is in some way related to a plant which is of the highest value to alchemy. Lane heard of it in Egypt as growing on a mountain (*Thousand and One Nights*, pp. 341–2, where, however, the connexion is fraudulent). Carsten Niebuhr (*Voyage en Arabie*, en Suisse, ii, 307, *cf.* 393) heard it grew on a mountain of the Yemen, where it yellowed the teeth of goats which fed on it. Mejir-ed-din (died 927 A. H.) mentions plants on the Sakhra rock at Jerusalem which turn silver to gold and gold to silver (ed. v. Hammer in *Mines de l'Orient*, ii, 94). Farther east, in Persia, Villotte (*Voyages*, p. 483) heard of a plant whose root turns quicksilver into silver.

L

DIEUDONNÉ DE GOZON AND THE DRAGON OF RHODES [1]

§ 1. The Story and its Development

THE story of the Rhodian knight Dieudonné de Gozon and the slaying of the great dragon of Malpasso is, largely owing to Schiller's adoption of the theme in a ballad,[2] one of the best-known legends of its type.[3] It is one of several instances in which an historical personage figures as the hero of this quite mythical adventure.[4]

Dieudonné de Gozon, a member of the Provençal *langue*, was the third Grand Master of the Knights of S. John at Rhodes, ruling from 1346 to 1353. He is represented as a simple knight at the time of his great adventure. As might be expected, no contemporary, or nearly contemporary, authority mentions the dragon fight of de Gozon.[5] But so early as Mandeville and Schiltberger we find anonymous Rhodian knights figuring as the heroes of current folk-tales of the chivalric type.[6]

[1] An earlier version of this chapter appeared in *B.S.A.* xx, 70 ff.

[2] *Der Kampf mit dem Drachen* (1799).

[3] For dragon-legends in folk-literature see Hartland's *Perseus*, Cosquin's *Contes de Lorraine*, i, 60 ff. and Frazer's note on Pausanias, ix, 26, 7.

[4] Other historical personages credited with dragon-fights are Sire Gilles de Chin (d. 1127) and one of the Counts of Mansfeld (Hartland, *Perseus*, iii, 46). The Russian saint Alexander Nevski is represented as a horseman and dragon-slayer, but was really an historical Grand Duke of the thirteenth century (Bouillet, *Dictionnaire*, *s. v.*).

[5] On this point see Raybaud, *Hist. des Grands Prieurs de S. Gilles*, ii, 300.

[6] So in Mandeville (ed. Wright, p. 139) a Rhodian knight has adventures with the enchanted daughter of Ypocras in Kos; in Schiltberger

The earliest form of the de Gozon story known to us is the version set down by a noble pilgrim who visited Rhodes on his way to the Holy Land in 1521.[1] He was there told that between the city of Rhodes and the castle of Phileremo was a church of Our Lady called Malapasson, so named because years ago the spot had been rendered impassable to travellers by a monstrous dragon which did great damage to the countryside. A French knight asked the Grand Master's leave to attack it, but the latter forbade him on the ground that the enterprise was too dangerous. Not content with this refusal, the knight went back to France and trained his horse and two dogs to face the dragon by setting them at a dummy monster made by covering a calf with a dragon's skin.[2] Having trained the animals, he returned to Rhodes and attacked and killed the dragon with their help, cutting off a piece of its tongue as evidence, but telling no one of his exploit. Some days after the encounter a Greek found the dragon's carcase and claimed to have killed it himself. The false claim was refuted by the knight, who produced his trophy as evidence,[3] but, so far from receiving honours or reward,

(ed. Hakluyt Society, p. 42) a Rhodian knight attempts the enchanted 'Castle of the Sparrow-Hawk'; and later in Rhodes itself a Rhodian knight takes the castle of Phileremo by one of the regular strategies of folk-lore (Röhricht and Meisner, *Deutsche Pilgerreisen*, p. 371; Torr, *Rhodes*, p. 91). All these are well-known folk stories to which local colour has been given by the characterization of the heroes.

[1] Pfalzgraf Ottheinreich, in Röhricht and Meisner's *Deutsche Pilgerreisen*, pp. 392–4. The learned editors recognize in this the earliest record of the de Gozon legend.

[2] This rather unconvincing stratagem, much elaborated in the canonized version, may have been suggested by the local legend of Phileremo alluded to above, in which the castle is taken by a similar trick, the hero and his companions disguising themselves in ox-skins (*Deutsche Pilgerreisen*, p. 371; Torr, *Rhodes*, p. 91).

[3] The episode of the false claim, discarded in the later canonized version of the story, is a feature common to many folk-tales of this type (see above, p. 430, and note 1).

was imprisoned by the Grand Master on the score of disobedience. He eventually became Grand Master himself, *either the third or fourth*. From this last it is clear that the legend of 1521 was already associated with de Gozon, not with an anonymous knightly hero.

If we consider the number of earlier voyages, all teeming with marvels retailed to pilgrims by the way, which have come down to us, it seems improbable that the story of Dieudonné de Gozon and the dragon was current in Rhodes much before 1521, a hundred and seventy years after its hero's death, when we first hear of it. On the other hand, we find in Kos, like Rhodes a possession of the Knights, a simple legend of a dragon-slaying with an anonymous hero current as early as 1420,[1] and in the preceding century a tradition of the bewitched daughter of Hippocrates appearing in dragon form in the same island.[2] Any country at all in touch with the East was likely to develop these folk-themes with a local setting. In the de Gozon legend it is the choice of the hero and the details of his stratagem which are of special interst.

To Bosio, the historian of the Order of S. John, who wrote some seventy years later, *i.e.* after the departure of the Knights from Rhodes, is due the general currency

[1] Buondelmonti, *Liber Insularum*, § 45: 'non diu est quod serpens maximus devorans apparuit armenta, et territi omnes fugam arripiebant. Tunc strenuus vir pro salute populi duellum inceptat, dum inter bestias ruere vellet. Quod cum hoc serpens percepisset, equum morsibus illico in terram prostratum occidit; iuvenis autem, acriter pugnans, tandem viperam interfecit.' Folk-legends of fights with dragons in Greek lands, sometimes dated more or less exactly, are given by Biliotti and Cottret, *Rhodes*, p. 154 (Rhodes, '110 years ago'), and Polites, *Παραδόσεις*, nos. 375 (Mykonos,) 381 (Skopelos) 383 (1509, Cephalonia, *cf.* Ansted, *Ionian Islands*, p. 342), 387 (1891, Rapsani). With these it is interesting to compare the crocodile story from Egypt told by Lucas (*Voyage au Levant* (1705), i, 83 ff.).

[2] Mandeville, ed. Wright, p. 138: for the obscure connexion between this dragon and the devastating monster mentioned above see note in Warner's edition.

of the legend. His account is very detailed, though it seems to be given with some reserve.[1]

The dragon lived in a cave, from which a spring flowed, at the roots of S. Stephen's hill, some two miles from the city, at a place called Malpasso. Every one was forbidden to fight with it. De Gozon, however, resolved to defy the prohibition. He retired to the castle of Gozon in Gascony, where his elder brother ruled, and made a dummy dragon of canvas stuffed with tow, resembling the real dragon in every particular, and so devised that it could be moved mechanically, making hideous noises as it did so. Having trained his horse and dogs to attack the dummy monster, he returned to Rhodes and set out to Malpasso by a roundabout route, sending his dogs with the servants to wait for him at the church of S. Stephen. Thence he made his attack on the dragon's cave and after a terrific combat, slew it by a stroke in the under part of its body. In its last agonies it fell on him and he was with difficulty rescued from under it by his servants.

The incident of the Greek and the false claim is omitted in Bosio's version. De Gozon for his disobedience was deprived of his habit by the Grand Master (de Villeneuve), who, however, afterwards relented and reinstated him. In course of time the dragon-slayer became Grand Master. At his death he was buried in the conventual church of S. John, his tomb being signalized by a representation of his heroic achievement and the words DRACONIS EXTINCTOR.

Later historians of the Order, Boissat,[2] Marulli,[3] Vertot,[4] and Paoli,[5] draw largely, if not exclusively, on

[1] G. Bosio, *Istoria della S. Religione di S. Giovanni*, pt. ii, pp. 45 ff.

[2] *Histoire de l'Ordre de Sainct Jean* (1612), pp. 120 ff.

[3] *Vite de' Gran Maestri della S. Religione di S. Giovanni* (1636), pp. 300 ff.

[4] *Histoire des Chevaliers de S. Jean* (1726), ii, 22.

[5] *Codice Diplomatico del Ordine Gerosolimitano* (1733–7), ii, 464:

this account. The traveller de Brèves gives a slightly different version, making the gallant deed of de Gozon not the cause of his degradation, but an attempt to rehabilitate himself.[1]

The characteristic points of the dragon-legend related of de Gozon are: (1) the difficulty of obtaining permission to fight the dragon, and (2) the training of the dogs with a dummy dragon. These are, so far as I know, peculiar to the de Gozon legend and that of Sire Gilles de Chin, of which the details in question have been shown to be of seventeenth-century origin and therefore probably derived from the de Gozon legend.[2]

§ 2. Tangible Evidence

Down to quite recent times writers of otherwise unimpeached sanity have laboured to prove that de Gozon's exploit was, at least in essentials, historical. A certain amount of tangible corroborative evidence has been brought forward to this end, but none of it bears examination.

Paoli is the first to associate the legend of de Gozon with that of Phorbas, as does in our own times C. Torr (*Rhodes*, p. 94).

[1] *Voyages* (1628), p. 18: this is curiously paralleled by a western type of dragon-legend in which the hero is a condemned criminal or a deserter (*cf.* Salverte, *Sciences Occultes*, 3 ed., p. 477).

[2] C. Liégeois, *Gilles de Chin* (1903), p. 124. Supernatural dogs are introduced in some folk-stories of the dragon-fight (*cf.* Hartland, *Perseus*, i, 29 f.) as assistants of the hero, but their setting and importance are wholly different. There is in Zotos Molottos' *Λεξικὸν τῶν Ἁγίων* a curious account of S. George and the Dragon, which is copied almost exactly from the Dieudonné de Gozon story, the scene of the fight being at Adalia. Zotos Molottos says the MS. of the legend is in a Leipzig library: it cannot be of any antiquity as it mentions *ὑπέρπυρα χρυσᾶ*, a coin used in the East in the later Middle Ages, but not earlier. Dieudonné's exploit is very rarely attributed to S. George, so that its attribution to him in the Adalia legend is perhaps due to the proximity of that town to Rhodes, especially as de Gozon's memory was perpetuated there by the preservation till *c.* 1830 of the dragon's head. In the Adalia story S. George has an attendant Lupus, who figures in other martyrologies.

(1) The cave in which the dragon lived was shown in Rhodes.[1] Such evidence is fairly easy to find. We may here note the possible contribution to the legend afforded by the existence in the early part of the fifteenth century of a rich Rhodian, apparently not a knight, named (or nicknamed) *Il Dracone*, who had a villa and garden at some distance from the city.[2] In Greek lands old proprietors' names are very apt to cling to their estates, and a place originally named after *Il Dracone* would afford plausible evidence to later generations for the location of a dragon-fight.

Palerne, in the early years of the seventeenth century, seems to be the first traveller who claims to have seen the cave of the dragon ; he adds that ' the story [of de Gozon's exploit] was engraved in the rock.' [3] In this detail he is confirmed a hundred years later by Egmont and Heymann,[4] who give the text of the inscription as follows :

FR. DEODATUS DE GAZONE [sic] *hic anguem immensae molis, orbibus terribilem, miseros Rhodi incolas devorantem, strenue peremit, deinceps Magister creatus est A.C. 1349.*

Subsequent writers do not mention this inscription.

(2) For the alleged representation of the combat and the words DRACONIS EXTINCTOR on the tomb of de Gozon at Rhodes our only authority is Bosio,[5] who in all probability was never in the island, since in his time the seat

[1] Michaud and Poujoulat, *Corresp. d'Orient*, iv, 20 ; A. Berg, *Die Insel Rhodus*, i, 86 ; Biliotti and Cottret, *Rhodes*, p. 152 : Belabre, *Rhodes of the Knights*, p. 185.

[2] *Viaggio* (1413) of Nicolò d'Este (*Coll. di Opere della R. Commissione pe' Testi di Lingua*, i, 115 : *cf.* p. 142. ' Il Dracone ' was in all probability identical with Dragonetto Clavelli, a Rhodian gentleman who acted as *procuratore* for the Grand Master in 1392 and held lands from the Order (Bosio, ii, 102 (1392), 114 (1402)).

[3] *Peregrinations* (1606), p. 347. [4] *Travels* (1759), i, 277.

[5] *Op. cit.* ii, 55.

of the Order had been removed to Malta. Vertot, who was in the same case, gives the epitaph in French, CY GIST LE VAINQUEUR DU DRAGON, adding that this was the only inscription.[1] A fragment of a supposed tomb of de Gozon was discovered by Rottiers, at a church of S. Stephen outside the city.[2] But the inscription, so far from mentioning the dragon, does not contain the name of de Gozon and the date is a year out.

A genuine sarcophagus of de Gozon was removed from Rhodes to France in 1877, and is now in the Cluny Museum.[3] It is very plain and bears the mutilated legend :

Cy gist Fr. Dieudonné d]e Gozon maistre de l'Ospital . . . [qui trespassa] l'an MCCCLIII *a viij jors de Dese[mbre . . .*

(3) Rottiers claimed to have discovered in a private house in the Street of the Knights at Rhodes a fresco representing the combat with the dragon. To judge from the drawing made by his artist the fresco, like most of the buildings in the street, is much later than the date of de Gozon.[4]

An earlier fresco illustrated [5] by the same author was seen by him in a vault of the ruined church of Notre Dame de Philerme, built, to judge by the arms on the corbels, by the Grand Master d'Aubusson, the hero of the first siege of Rhodes (1480). A knight, not de Gozon (as is shown by his arms), kneels before S. Michael, who spears a monster. Adjoining the group is a rock with a spring of water gushing out, surmounted by a serpent and two doves.[6] Rottiers rightly abstains from

[1] *Op. cit.* ii, 54 : the same epitaph is given by Paoli, *loc. cit.*

[2] *Monumens de Rhodes* (1828), p. 340 and pl. lii.

[3] *Catalogue du Musée des Thermes* (1883), p. 40, no. 422 : the sarcophagus is illustrated in *L'Illustration*, 1878 (lxxi), no. 1826 (Feb. 23). The drawing of de Gozon's tomb in de Villeneuve-Bargemont's *Monumens des Grands-Maîtres* (i, pl. xxvi) is of course quite fanciful.

[4] *Monumens de Rhodes*, pp. 239 f., pl. xxvii.

[5] *Op. cit.*, p. 372, pl. lxii.

[6] The whole seems to form a pendant to another fresco in the same

associating this fresco with the de Gozon legend. It may nevertheless have been considered locally as confirmatory evidence.

(4) We have further to reckon with a reputed 'dragon-stone' preserved in Bosio's time by the de Gozon family as a relic of their famous ancestor. This is described as a crystal of the size and shape of an olive and of varied colour: it was supposed to have come from the forehead of the Rhodian dragon. The idea of such stones, derived from Pliny and Solinus, was widespread in the Middle Ages [1] and persisted late.[2] The de Gozon stone, like most of its class, was an antidote (on the homeopathic principle) against poison. Water in which it was placed bubbled violently while absorbing the virtue of the stone, and was afterwards given to patients to drink. A Rhodian knight of the de Gozon family affirmed that he had himself seen the remedy administered and a serpent 1½ palms long vomited up by the patient.[3] In the wars of religion the stone was stolen and given to Henry IV.[4]

series representing an attack by a saint on a dragon in a cave surmounted by an owl.

[1] A fourteenth-century *Lapidaire*, bearing the name of de Mandeville tells us (p. 113) that the 'pierre de serpent' or *Dreconcides* 'est engendrée de plusieurs serpents qui joignent leurs têtes ensemble et soufflent; elle est noire et porte à son chef une partie de blancheur pâle au milieu de laquelle est une image de serpent; elle vaut contre venin, et garde celui qui la porte de morsure de serpent et de bêtes vénimeuses, en telle manière, qu'on peut les prendre en sa main toute nue, sans se blesser.' The dragon-stone must be taken from the brain of the monster while it still lived (Conrad von Megenberg, *Buch der Natur*, p. 444, § 29). Palmer found the snake-stone legend current at Mount Sinai (*Desert of the Exodus*, p. 99). For the legend in the West see Maury, *Croy. du Moyen Âge*, p. 230, n. 2.

[2] The question of the authenticity of 'dragon-stones' or *escarboucles* is seriously discussed by J. B. Panthot, *Traité des dragons*.

[3] Bosio, *op. cit.* ii, 55.

[4] Kergorlay, *Chypre et Rhodes*, p. 275 (quoting de Naberat, *Hist. des Chevaliers de S. Jean*, Paris, 1629, p. 70).

(5) A head supposed to be that of the dragon slain by de Gozon was seen by the seventeenth-century traveller Thévenot hung up in one of the gateways of Rhodes.[1] There is no mention of this head in Bosio or any earlier writer than Thévenot. Subsequent writers speak of such a head (or heads) in a similar position ; it seems to have disappeared in 1839.[2]

This supposed evidence for de Gozon's combat has long been recognized as an instance of the familiar use of 'giants' ' (*i. e.* crocodiles) and ' dragons' ' (crocodiles' or whales') heads as charms against the evil eye.[3] The selection of city gateways for the suspension of such charms is again familiar. Gates, like all entrances, are considered critical points, city gates especially so from the strategic point of view.[4] It will be noted that, like

[1] *Travels*, p. 117 : *cf.* Veryard, *Choice Remarks* (1701), p. 331 : Dumont, *Nouv. Voyage*, p. 230.

[2] Biliotti and Cottret, *Rhodes*, pp. 150 ff. *Cf.* Rottiers, p. 235 ; Michaud and Poujoulat, *Corresp. d'Orient*, iv, 20 ; Berg, *Rhodus*, i, 90. In 1696 Villotte saw one of the dragon's ribs in a gate at Rhodes (*Voyages*, p. 344).

[3] A well-known instance is that of the crocodile of Seville (Elworthy, *Evil Eye*, p. 214). Others are cited from Marseilles, Lyons, Cimiez, and Ragusa by Salverte (*Sciences Occultes*, p. 482), from Verona by Berg (*op. cit.*, p. 90), and from Siena by Baedeker (*Central It.*, p. 23). *Cf.* above, p. 231.

[4] For the protection of gates by talismans see Quiclet, *Voyages*, p. 111 (' Giant's bones ' at gate of Belgrade) ; Hobhouse, *Albania*, ii, 948 (Whale's bones at Seraglio gate, Constantinople) ; Evliya, *Travels*, ii, 230 (Whale's bones and old arms at gate of Angora) ; Texier, *Asie Mineure*, pl. xcvii (stone balls at gate of Konia) ; Evliya, *op. cit.* ii, 201 (Mace and bow at gate of Kemakh) ; Belon, *Observations de plusieurs Singularitez*, III, ch. xlii (' Sword of Roland ' at gate of Brusa : *cf.* Thévenot, *Voyages*, i, 282) ; L. Stephani, *Reise des nördlichen Griechenlandes*, p. 16 (Giant's boot at gate of Chalkis : *cf.* Hugonnet, *La Grèce Nouv.*, p. 279) ; Biliotti and Cottret, *Rhodes*, p. 151 (bones of Digenes (really whale's) at S. Catherine's gate, Rhodes : *cf.* Chaviaras in *Λαογραφία*, i, 278) ; Gerlach, *Tage-Buch*, p. 337 ; Covel, *Diaries*, pp. 217 f. (various charms on gates of Constantinople). The gate of the Knights' Castle at Budrum was protected by the charm-text *Nisi Dominus*, &c. (see above, p. 203). Ali Pasha protected the main gate

all the other tangible evidence of de Gozon's exploit, the dragon's head at Rhodes is first mentioned long after the death of the hero.

We may here incidentally remark that the Turkish dragon-legend current in our own time at Rhodes, the hero of which is a dervish who kills the dragon by inducing it to devour forty asses loaded with quicklime,[1] owes nothing to that of de Gozon in detail, and probably arose simply from the 'dragon's' head suspended in the city gate.

§ 3. Dragon Processions

We come now to discuss the outstanding peculiarity of the de Gozon legend, the incident of the dummy dragon. Bosio's elaborate description is worth quoting in full. 'The dragon', he says, 'was made of canvas stuffed with tow, of the same size, form, and figure and

of his island-citadel at Yannina by building in the head of an 'Arab' still to be seen there, carved in stone and painted black, and the gate of the fort at Preveza, taken by the Greeks in the Balkan war, has been similarly protected by a number of painted crosses. For the analogous protection of gates by saints' tombs see Frazer's *Pausanias*, iii, 468. There are excellent Turkish examples at Nicaea, and at Candia in the 'New Gate'. The existence of such saints is doubtless often inferred from that of their supposed bones, arms, or other relics originally suspended as talismans. See further above, pp. 229 ff.

[1] Biliotti and Cottret, *Rhodes*, p. 153, from whom Torr, *Rhodes*, p. 94; for the stratagem we may compare that of the eponymous hero of Cracow, who gave the local dragon food mixed with sulphur, pitch, and wax till it eventually died (Münster's *Cosmographie*, ed. Belleforest, i, 1781), and the *History of Bel and the Dragon* (vv. 23 ff.) in the Apocrypha. A somewhat similar stratagem occurs in the *Shahnameh* of Firdawsi, where Isfendiar begins operations on a dragon by inducing it to swallow a cart loaded with daggers and other weapons; a probable variant of this tale occurs at Herat: see Maury, *Croy. du Moyen Âge*, p. 231, n. 5 (quoting J. Abbott, *Journey from Herat to Khiva*, 1843, i, 239). Daniel killed a serpent by making it swallow pitch (Millin, *Midi de la France*, iii, 528). Sébillot (*Folk-Lore de France*, i, 469) records a tale in which a dragon swallows powder dressed up in a calf's skin by a knight.

of the same colours as the beast itself. It was of the size of an ordinary horse. It had the head of a serpent, with ears the size and shape of a mule's, covered with a very hard and scaly skin, with a great and frightful mouth armed with very sharp teeth. Its eyes, deeply sunk in the head, glittered like fire and glared with horrible ferocity. It had four legs something like a crocodile's, with paws armed with very hard and sharp talons. From its back rose two wings, not so very large, which were the colour of a dolphin above and scarlet with some spots of yellow below. The body and legs were of the same colour as the wings, the belly red and yellow like the under side of the wings. It had a tail something like a lizard's. It ran with a speed greater than that of the swiftest horse, flapping its wings and making a tremendous noise.' All these minute details come from a man—Bosio or another—who had seen such a mechanical dragon as he describes.

All over France, and apparently also in the Netherlands and Spain,[1] are found traces of medieval festivals generally in connexion with Rogation processions,[2] in which dragons were an important feature. A figure of a dragon, originally symbolizing the Spirit of Evil, was carried or led in procession for three days and then sometimes 'killed' or rendered innocuous in a sort of rough religious play.[3] In these cases the dragon is apt to resume his old folk-lore connexion with water and is often regarded as a haunter of springs, or a river beast,

[1] W. G. Clarke (*Gazpacho*, p. 95) saw the processional 'tarasca' at Toledo, where there is a body of S. Martha as at Tarascon (see below), according to Collin de Plancy, *Dict. des Reliques*, *s.v. Marthe*. For 'tarasques' in Spanish Christmas and Fête-Dieu processions see also Maury, *Magie*, p. 160, n. 3.

[2] For their significance see Hasluck, *Letters*, p. 57.

[3] For the widespread vogue of these festivals see Salverte, *Sciences Occultes*, pp. 475 ff.; and, for legends of dragon-slaying saints in western Europe, Douhet, *Dict. des Légendes*, *s.v. Tarasque*, and Cahier, *Caractéristiques des Saints*, *s.v. Dragon*.

or even identified with notable floods of the local river.[1]

In certain instances the dragon came to be popularly regarded as representing an actual monster subdued by the local saint. At Tarascon, where the procession of the 'tarasque', or dragon supposed to have given its name to the town, still survives, the mechanical monster formerly used for the procession was of immense size and was manipulated by a dozen men from inside, one of whom opened and shut its jaws; it was baited by persons dressed as knights, and on the third day was made to give three jumps to signify its submission to S. Martha, who here figures as the heroine of the local dragon-legend.[2] Similar dragon-processions or legends existed in many towns of Provence; a mechanical dragon was used at Aix.[3] A 'property' dragon of this sort is surely at the back of Bosio's elaborate description.[4]

[1] For the world-wide connexion of dragons with springs and water see Frazer's *Pausanias*, v, 44.

[2] The modern 'tarasque' is shown in *B.S.A.* xx (1913–14), pl. ix. Maury says (*Croy. du Moyen Âge*, p. 232, n. 1, quoting Bouche, *Hist. du Provence*, i, 326) that the 'tarasque' is first mentioned in the twelfth century. Sincerus, travelling soon after 1600, saw at S. Martha's, Tarascon, 'monstri effigies chartacea hominem deglutiens' and quotes the epigram

'Suspice multipedem squamosum deinde draconem
Auritum cernas dentigerumq: caput
Martha . . .
Perdomuit, loro continuitq: brevi.'

See Sincerus, *Itin. Gall.*, p. 128.

[3] See especially J. B. F. Porte, in *Mém. Acad. Aix*, iv (1840), pp. 261–308.

[4] Compare the description of the Tarascon 'tarasque' given by A. Dumas (*Midi de la France*, 1834, ch. 34): 'C'est un animal d'un aspect tout à fait rebarbatif, et dont l'intention visible est de rappeler l'antique dragon qu'il représente. Il a environ vingt pieds de long, une grosse tête ronde, une gueule immense, qui s'ouvre et se ferme à volonté; des yeux remplis de poudre apprêtée en artifice, un cou qui rentre et s'allonge, un corps gigantesque, destiné a renfermer les personnes qui le font mouvoir; enfin, une queue longue et roide comme

§ 4. De Gozon and the French Side of the Legend

De Gozon, as we have said, was of the *langue* of Provence. The ancestral castle of the family [1] in the valley of the Tarn (near Costes, Department of Aveyron) still bears their name. A cave in the neighbourhood, called *les Dragonnières*, whence a spring issues, is shown as the scene of the training of the dogs.[2] It may be that the legend of de Gozon's exploit grew up in his native land and was carried thence to Rhodes. This would explain not only the 'dummy' dragon, by the analogy of the French processional dragons, but the otherwise unnecessary French interlude in the story, which depends ostensibly on the Grand Master's strict prohibition of dragon-hunting—an unusual, if not unique, feature of the story.

We may possibly detect an etymological basis in the

une solive, vissée à l'échine d'une manière assez triomphante pour casser bras et jambes à ceux qu'elle atteint. Le second jour de la fête de la Pentecôte, à six heures du matin, trente chevaliers de la Tarasque, vétûs de tuniques et de manteaux, et institués par le roi René, viennent chercher l'animal sous son hangar; douze portefaix lui entrent dans le ventre. Une jeune fille vétue en sainte Marthe lui attache un ruban bleu autour du cou; et le monstre se met en marche aux grands applaudissements de la multitude. Si quelque curieux passe trop près de sa tête, la Tarasque allonge le cou et le happe par le fond de sa culotte, qui lui reste ordinairement dans la gueule. Si quelque imprudent s'aventure derrière elle, la Tarasque prend sa belle, et d'un coup de queue, elle le renverse. Enfin, si elle se sent trop pressée de tous côtés, la Tarasque allume ses artifices, ses yeux jettent des flammes; elle bondit, fait un tour sur elle-même, et tout ce qui se trouve à sa portée, dans une circonférénce de soixante-quinze pieds, est impitoyablement brûlé ou culbuté.' Dumas adds that in 1793 the Arlesians were at war with the Tarasconnais, beat them, and burned their Tarasque, which was 'un monstre de la plus grande magnificence, d'un mécanisme aussi compliqué qu' ingénieux'. The present Tarasque is an imitation of the other.

[1] Dumas (*loc. cit.*) places it on the Little Rhone, in Camargue.

[2] De Gissac in *Congrès Arch.* xxx (1863–4), pp. 65–70; *cf.* d'Estourmel, *Journal*, i, 169.

name of Gozon, which might conveniently be connected with the Italian *gozzo* (*crop, maw*) [1] as expressive of the characteristic of many dragons,[2] or with *gos, gous, gots* (and *gozzone*), Provençal for *dog*, which would explain the introduction of the dogs. But such philological speculations offer more scope for ingenuity than proof, and the point cannot be pressed. The introduction of the dogs is perhaps sufficiently accounted for by the stories retailed to pilgrims in the fifteenth century concerning the trained dogs kept by the Knights of Rhodes at the Castle of S. Peter (Budrum).[3]

The dragon-slaying of Sire Gilles de Chin, to which we have before alluded, was based on a legendary exploit of the historical hero in the Holy Land during the Crusades. This exploit—the killing of a lion—which possibly derived ultimately from the lion which so often serves as footstool to recumbent sepulchral figures, gradually developed, aided by an allegorical picture,[4] till it

[1] It occurs in modern provincial French (Lorraine) as *gosse* ('stomach of fatted beasts') with the verb *gosser* ('to fatten for market').

[2] The processional dragon of Poitiers was named 'Grand' Gueule' (La Mauvinière, *Poitiers*, p. 75: Salverte, *Sciences Occultes*, p. 477), that of Rheims 'le Bailla' (Salverte, p. 475). Similarly, the name of Rabelais' giant Gargantua (originally a folk-lore figure), as also that of his father 'Grangousier' correspond exactly in sense to Gozzone (*cf. testa, testone*, &c.). S. Romanus subdued the dragon of Rouen, which was known as Gargouille: for it see Collin de Plancy, *Dict. des Reliques*, i, 38, iii, 45; Maury, *Croy. du Moyen Âge*, p. 232; Sincerus, *Itin. Gall.*, p. 214. A stream in the department of Aveyron, which flows through a narrow gorge, is called Gouzon. Gozon may have personified its river as a dragon, as Grenoble does the river Drac (Salverte, *op. cit.*, p. 463).

[3] So Torr (*Rhodes*, p. 93, and *Class. Rev.* i, 79) who suggests that these legends are due to the Greek lions' heads built into the castle, probably as talismans, by the Knights. The dogs are mentioned fairly regularly by fifteenth-century pilgrims, *e.g.* William Wey (1462, *Itineraries*, p. 94), Joos van Ghistele (1483, *'T Voyage*, p. 334) and later located at Rhodes (*Veryard, op. cit.*, p. 331). Fabri (*Evagat.* iii, 261–2) says the dogs could distinguish Christians from Moslems by their smell.

[4] On the influence of allegorical pictures on legend see above, p. 49, n. 2.

eventually became a dragon-legend located in the native country (near Mons) of the hero. In a similar way de Gozon's exploit may have developed at home aided by the family's possession of the dragon-stone, the obvious suitability of the country for dragon-warfare, and, it may be, also by a local dragon-procession regarded as commemorative of an actual dragon-fight, till it was finally located at Rhodes, owing to (1) the connexion of the de Gozon family with the Rhodian Order of S. John, and (2) the suitably romantic background obtained by the change of scene. It is even possible that one beginning of the legend was the introduction of the festival of Rogations into Rhodes, maybe by de Gozon himself. As is well known, Rogations had been instituted in France at Vienne by S. Mamert (d. A. D. 474) and from France spread all over western Europe.[1] A passage in the *Ἀσίζαι τῆς Κύπρου* shows that the festival spread also to Frankish Cyprus,[2] so that its introduction into Rhodes is by no means impossible; it will also be remembered in this connexion that Buondelmonti refers to a dragon slain in the neighbouring Kos.[3]

[1] For French instances of the festival see Maury, *Croy. du Moyen Âge*, p. 219, n. 3, pp. 228 ff.; for Roman see Lanciani, *Pagan and Christian Rome*, p. 165, who states that the Great Litany at Rome was celebrated as early as Leo III (A. D. 795–816).

[2] Ed. Sathas, *Μεσ. Βιβλ.* vi, 125, the words used are *τὰς ἡμέρας τῆς Παρακλήσεως, τοὐτέστιν ὄντα εὐγάλουν τὸν Δράκον*: I owe the reference to Professor R. M. Dawkins.

[3] Quoted above, p. 648, n. 1. Polites gives (*Παραδόσεις*, no. 383) an interesting dragon story from Cephalonia from a forged document bearing the date 1509. The hero went to the *proveditore*, borrowed a suit of armour, and, thus protected, entered the dragon's mouth when the latter opened it to eat the hero; the hero then cut the dragon's throat with a razor from inside. In his notes on no. 383 Polites gives several variants of the tale as current in Cephalonia; the details about the huge size of the dragon, the burning of its body outside the church of S. Nicolas, the official doxology, as well as the actions of the dragon, are reminiscent of a Rogation procession, so that, like the de Gozon story at Rhodes, the tale may have originated

Whether the story arose from a Rogation procession or not, the case for the French, as opposed to the Rhodian, origin of the legend is considerably strengthened by the date at which the story appears in Rhodes. Bosio's information as to the 'dragon-stone' in the de Gozon family comes, as he tells us, from a Rhodian knight connected with the family, Giovanni Antonio Foxano. The wonderful story illustrating the peculiar

in such a procession. Another possible survival of Rogations may be the fight of S. George with a dragon. First, while Rogations, as instituted by S. Mamert, was a movable feast because fixed for the three days before Ascension, whose date depends on Easter, the Great Litany at Rome was fixed for the 23rd April, the date of S. George's festival as of the ancient Robigalia. Secondly, the fight conforms to the Rogation type, including, as it does, a cave and lake of the dragon and a church of the saint. Thirdly, the story is located most authoritatively at Beyrut, Ludolf von Suchem, who returned from his travels in A. D. 1341, being the first to mention Beyrut as the scene of combat. I know of no mention of the dragon story earlier than the Golden Legend, so that the dates fit the Crusading period, *cf.* above, p. 321, n. 1. Fourthly, in Rogation ceremonies the dragon is generally first exorcised by the bishop and then led away by his stole (*cf.* Maury, *Croy. du Moyen Âge*, p. 234, n. 2). Similarly, S. George overcomes the dragon and gives it to the virgin princess to lead into town before he kills it. I am therefore inclined to think the Beyrut legend of S. George may be a Crusading survival and even vaguely reminiscent of a Rogation procession; supposing memories of such a Frankish institution to have survived, the popular mind would naturally, in the course of time, attribute them to the most prominent local figure, *i. e.* S. George. Except on the assumption that the tale is such a survival it is hard to explain why Beyrut, and not Lydda, should have been chosen as the battle-field; this is especially noteworthy as it is known that the tradition of Perseus, a possible ancestor of S. George's, lingered until the fourth century A. D. at Joppa, so near to Lydda. The 'filling up' of the dragon found in the *Shahnameh*, the Rhodian dervish-legend, in Poland, &c. (see above, p. 655, n. 1) seems to be oriental. That is, in the oriental type the dragon is overcome and killed by stratagem, but in the S. George story and at Rogations the dragon is overcome by the power of virginity (the princess in the one case, bishops or saints in the other). On the other hand, in the Sari Saltik legend a 'combat' between the hero and the dragon is the chief feature (see above, p. 60), but I think this is a derivative from a Christian original.

efficacy of the ' dragon-stone ' came to Foxano directly from his kinsman Pierre Melac de Gozon, Grand Prior of S. Gilles in Provence, who professed to have been an eyewitness of the incident described. This Pierre Melac de Gozon entered the Order of S. John in 1516, and in 1522 took part in the last defence of Rhodes.[1] If Dieudonné de Gozon himself did not originate the story in Rhodes, as suggested above, was his kinsman Pierre responsible for the importation thither of the mythical story current there in 1521 of his ancestor's exploit, or at least for the association of his name with a dragon-legend already current in the island ? If so, he may also, during his residence in Rhodes, have re-edified his ancestor's tomb and still further commemorated the latter's exploit by the painting seen by Rottiers, and by the inscription at the Cave of the Dragon.

[1] Raybaud, *Hist. des Grands Prieurs de S. Gilles*, ii, 112 ; he became Grand Prior in 1558.

LI

SHEIKH EL BEDAWI OF TANTA [1]

THE great saint of Tanta in the Delta is Said Ahmed el Bedawi, who was born in A.H. 596 (A.D. 1200) at Fez [2] and died in A.H. 675 at Tanta.[3]

He has a great reputation for liberating persons in the power of the infidel. Thus, a Turkish pasha long captive in Spain and chained by heavy chains to two great stones, had in vain invoked several saints to deliver him. At last he remembered Said Ahmed and called on him. Immediately the saint stretched his hand out of his tomb [4] and in that same instant the Pasha found himself back in Egypt, chains, stones, and all. As the miracle occurred on the festival of the saint,[5] it was witnessed by a multitude of people, but, if further proof be required, it may be sought in the pasha's stones and chains, which are still shown near his tomb.[6]

In Thévenot's time the saint was supposed to deliver every year three slaves from Malta at his festival; on the morning of the festival three Moors used to be

[1] [This article has been put together from scattered notes in my husband's note-books and his letters.—M. M. H.]

[2] Vaujany, *Alexandrie*, pp. 174 ff. Goldziher (in *Rev. Hist. Relig.* ii, 303) gives Tunis as an alternative birthplace.

[3] Vaujany, *loc. cit.* The tomb was reputed to be on a church and temple site (Vaujany, *Caire*, p. 329). See also Thévenot, *Voyages*, ii, 802. Another well-known tomb of the sheikh was at Tripoli of Syria (Kelly, *Syria*, p. 106), where the pool adjoining the tomb contained sacred fish, for which see above, pp. 245 ff. See also d'Arvieux, *Mémoires*, ii, 390.

[4] For this barbarous miracle of life in the grave see above, pp. 252–5.

[5] In July according to Thévenot, *loc. cit.*; at the summer solstice according to Goldziher, *loc. cit.*, who adds that El Bedawi had the gift of being so terrifying as to kill, and that the festival was a great pilgrimage for barren women (pp. 304–5).

[6] Niebuhr, *Voyage en Arabie*, i, 255.

shown who declared that they had come during the night, by the saint's miraculous intervention, from that island.[1] Till recent years his prestige was kept up by the occasional discovery on the dome of his mosque of a man in chains with long hair and nails, who professed to have been liberated miraculously by the saint.[2] These men were largely drawn from certain *velis*, who fancied that they had sinned against the *kutb*,[3] that is, the most saintly of all the *velis*, and believed that they must do penance until their sin was remitted. They loaded themselves with chains,[4] looked on themselves as captives in the power of the infidels, and retired entirely from the world. The remission of their sin being revealed to them by some omen, such as a cry or an ominous cloud, they returned to Tanta and announced their deliverance from captivity, attributing it to the intervention of the saint and appearing on the dome of his tomb.[5]

[1] Thévenot, *loc. cit.* The same author (p. 803) relates an amusing story of how the saint brought to reason a truculent pasha.

[2] Vaujany, *Alexandrie*, pp. 174 ff.

[3] According to Lane (*Mod. Egyptians*, i, 290 ff.) the existence of *velis* is proved by a verse of the Koran: they are the 'favourites of God'. The *kutb* is often seen, but not recognized; he has various 'stations', one being Tanta. He can transport himself from Mecca to Cairo and *vice versa* in an instant.

[4] Lane (*op. cit.* i, 296) records the case of a *veli* who placed an iron collar on his neck and chained himself to the wall of his room. George of Hungary (*ap.* Hottinger, *Hist. Orient.*, p. 496) says certain dervishes loaded themselves with chains to indicate the fierceness of the ecstatic frenzy which seized them at times. *Cf.* also *Acts* xx, 22, for the same idea ('bound in the spirit').

[5] Vaujany, *Alexandrie*, p. 175, n. For their retiring from the world *cf.* Lane, *Mod. Egyptians*, i, 293. Lady Duff Gordon (*Letters from Egypt*, pp. 45 and 304) gives an account of an ascete called Sheikh Selim, who sat motionless for twenty years, without washing, praying, or celebrating Ramazan, 'God's prisoner'; until a certain holy camel he had lost should be found. Dr. Liddon saw his tomb, where the ascete's cats and dogs shared with his relatives in the offerings of the faithful: Dr. Liddon's *dahabiyeh* was wind-bound until the party

With no more of the story than the above it is difficult to explain why the saint is supposed to liberate captives from *infidel lands*. A passage in Goldziher's article on Moslem saints provides the key. It appears that at the time of the Crusades Said Ahmed liberated a Moslem captive from a Christian dungeon, where he was kept in a box, the jailer sitting on the box perpetually. Box and all flew with the liberated prisoner.[1]

Already in Gregory of Tours there are numerous stories of the liberation of captives by saints. Thus, S. Victor of Milan was famous for this miracle: a curious case is that of the political prisoner who prayed on the vigil of the saint and got away next day unhindered on his horse.[2] A priest fled to S. Martin's to escape the king's wrath and was there kept in chains, which fell off, however, every time he invoked S. Martin.[3] Four prisoners broke prison and escaped to S. Martin's church, where their chains and stocks were broken at their prayer.[4] S. Nicetius of Lyons in one night appeared in seven different cities and freed prisoners from their jails.[5] These miracles seem all to be mainly dependent on the right of sanctuary. If a prisoner successfully broke jail and got, for example, on to S. Martin's ground,[6] he could not be touched and was *ipso facto* proved innocent by the saint.

In these early accounts there is no hint of levitation, it will be noted. Later on, however, this becomes a great feature, and eventually becomes characteristic of S. Leonard of Limoges.[7] A Breton gentleman im-

handsomely tipped the saint's relatives, when the desired miracle at once took place (King, *Dr. Liddon's Tour*, p. 75).

[1] Goldziher, in *Rev. Hist. Relig.* ii, 303 f.

[2] Greg. Turon., *De Glor. Martyr.* i, 45.

[3] *Idem*, *De Mir. S. Mart.* i, 23.

[4] *Idem*, *De Mir. S. Mart.* ii, 35.

[5] *Idem*, *Vit. Patr.* VIII, ch. x.

[6] *Idem*, *De Mir. S. Mart.* iii, 41, 47; iv, 16, 26, 39, 41

[7] Nov. 6: *temp.* Clovis.

prisoned and in chains at Nantes appealed to S. Leonard, who, in the presence of all the prisoners, appeared [1] and led him out of prison, bidding him take his chain to S. Leonard's tomb.[2] A *bourgeois* of Noblac was imprisoned by a *seigneur* and not only chained but put in a dark, underground dungeon, the entry of which was covered by a great box on which soldiers kept guard night and day. But in the night S. Leonard knocked the soldiers over and transported the prisoner to the door of the church, where he was found in the morning.[3] The *seigneur* of Baqueville in Normandy was taken by the Turks in Hungary. After fifteen years' captivity he invoked S. Leonard and was transported to his own castle, where no one knew him, as he was covered with rags and his hair and beard had grown long. He was just in time to prevent his wife's second marriage.[4] A peasant of Poitou was chained by robbers to a tree and appealed to S. Leonard and S. Martial. A voice told him to shake off his chains, which he did, carrying one to S. Leonard's and the other to S. Martial's tomb.[5] Boemond, prince of Antioch, was liberated by S. Leonard and in 1005 brought to the saint's tomb the silver tokens of his bondage.[6]

[1] Here the Christian differs from the Moslem miracle of El Bedawi, for the latter saint does not manifestly appear.

[2] Collin, *Hist. Sacr. des Saints*, p. 557. This saint is also connected with the strange custom of 'binding' churches for which see above, p. 264, n. 2.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 556. [4] *Ibid.*, pp. 558–9. [5] *Ibid.*, p. 557.

[6] *Ibid.*; p. 561. S. Leonard seems to owe his prominence as the prisoner's friend to his name. Van Gennep (*Religions, Mœurs, et Légendes*, pp. 7–8) is explicit on the point. 'Ce saint', he says, 'originaire de France, a été transporté en Allemagne par les Cisterciens. Anciennement on le nommait *Liénard* (nom qui subsiste en Allemagne sous les formes *Lienhart, Lehnhart*, &c.) et on lui attribuait le pouvoir de lier et de délier. L'analogie entre le nom du saint et sa fonction spéciale est évidente, au point que celle-ci a bien des chances de prevenir de celui-là. Actuellement encore, saint Liénard ou Léonard est, en France comme en Allemagne, le protecteur des animaux

The same tale of liberation is told by Paulus Merula (1558 to 1607) of two citizens of Orleans condemned to death by the Turks and placed the day before execution in strong chests. In the night they commended themselves to the relics of Holy Cross at Orleans and were transported *per aerem* in their chests and found next morning in the church of Holy Cross at Orleans.[1] Again, the black statue of Notre Dame de Liesse was made, with angelic help, by three knights whom the Sultan of Egypt held in captivity. By its aid they converted the sultan's daughter and were miraculously taken home together with the image; the church is dated 1134.[2]

In a small and interesting point in these developments of the liberation-of-prisoners theme there is, I think, a connexion with the East on the lines of the Tanta miracle. In Gregory of Tours' time, it will be remembered, any saint [3] might perform the miracle. It is noticeable, however, that at this date there is no indication of the added miracle which is found at Tanta, viz. that the liberated man is released and carried off by the saint. In the cases,

domestiques, des femmes en mal d'enfant, des prisonniers, etc. Et son surnom allemand, est *Entbinder*, le *délieur*. Ainsi, le jeu de mots français a été traduit par les Allemands, pour qui le mot de *Liénard* ne signifiait rien.'

[1] *Cosmographia*, *ap.* Sincerus, *Itin. Gall.*, p. 29.

[2] Collin de Plancy, *Dict. des Reliques*, ii, 266 ff. In these stories of two and three knights we may discern the influence of eikonography perhaps. Soldiers guarding the empty tomb, for instance, are often shown in armour that is contemporary with the sculpture: such a subject certainly provides a box and knights.

[3] As illustrative of the struggle between the 'Olympian' and the Pelasgian' strata of religion in the West, the story in Greg. Turon., *De Mir. S. Mart.* IV, xxxv, is interesting. A prisoner was liberated from his chains while being led in front of *S. Peter's* church and bound again more tightly by his escort. When he passed, however, in front of S. Martin's, these strengthened bonds fell off and they had to release him altogether.

however, which date from the crusading period, this occurs. Levitation being a very oriental idea, this detail may be thought some corroboration of the general influence on the West of the Crusades [1] at this time.

The pre-crusading period may have based these tales of liberation on S. Peter's : [2] the miracle is so far restricted to the undoing of chains and doors. S. Peter's chains are not only a relic of S. Peter, the binder and looser, but they have already been instrumental in his liberation. Liberation may be material or spiritual,[3] the two conceptions fusing [4] through the idea of possession being slavery to Satan. Various illnesses are also thought the result of sin and are typified by binding : [5] Gregory of Tours actually uses the words *caecitatis catena constrictus*.[6] Further, a penance appointed for serious sins was to go in chains several years.[7] Thus,

[1] For this see Hasluck, *Letters*, pp. 117–8.

[2] The chains in S. Peter's prison at Jerusalem did miracles and were taken to Rome (Tobler, *Topogr. von Jerusalem*, i, 411); Lucius (*Anfänge des Heiligenk.*, p. 192) says they were given to Rome by the Empress Eudoxia ; S. Peter *ad Vincula* was built by Sixtus III, who died in 440 A. D. (Lucius, *loc. cit.*).

[3] For instance, S. Maria dell' Inferno at Rome was at first interpreted as ' Libera nos a poenis infernis ', but was later regarded as S. Maria *Liberatrice* and connected with S. Silvester's destruction of a dragon in a neighbouring cave (Tuker and Malleson, *Christian and Ecclesiastical Rome*, p. 280 ; Hare, *Walks in Rome*, i, 164).

[4] Thus, Sincerus saw a captive liberated at Ascension at Rouen (*Itin. Gall.*, p. 214). ' Sequanus Lingonici abbas territorii vivens saepe homines a vinculo diabolici nexus absolvit ' (Greg. Turon., *De Glor. Conf.* lxxxviii).

[5] *Cf.* the paralytic woman to whom S. Julian appeared in sleep : ' visum est ei quasi multitudo catenarum ab ejus membris solo decidere ' (Greg. Turon., *De Pass. S. Jul.* II, ix).

[6] *De Mir. S. Mart.* iv, 20.

[7] *Cf.* Lane, *Mod. Egyptians*, i, 88, who says the prayer during the ablutions preliminary to the prayer proper runs : ' O God, free my neck from the fire ; and keep me from the chains, and the collars, and the fetters.'

a fratricide was loaded with chains and sent on a seven years' penitential pilgrimage. Coming by revelation to the tomb of S. John *in Tornodorensi pago*, he incubated in the church and prayed and was loosed from all his chains.[1] Absolution (again *solvo*) being given, the chains were probably deposited in the church as an ex-voto.[2] Again, madmen were chained for the protection of society and presumably unchained when they were considered well. Several holy places in the East to this day keep chains [3] to tie up madmen undergoing treatment, just as churches frequently used for incubation keep bedding.

Under the influence of successful miracles these chains tend to become regarded as the immediate instrument of cure [4] and, probably owing to the influence of S. Peter's prototype, are associated with saints,

[1] Greg. Turon., *De Glor. Conf.* lxxxvii : see especially *Acta SS.*, Jan. vol. ii, 866.

[2] The church of S. Leonard contains a number of manacles, chains, &c., of grateful prisoners delivered by the saint (Collin, *Hist. Sacr. des Saints*, p. 555). In view of the Tanta procedure there may be less of *fraus pia* in the S. Leonard miracles than is sometimes supposed.

[3] Thévenot, *Voyages*, iii, 156, says that at Telghiuran, between Urfa and Mardin, there is a small chapel with chains, which are put round the madman's neck. The chains loose themselves from the patients who are destined to recover, but have to be untied from hopeless cases. Similarly, in the church of S. George at Beyrut there is a huge iron ring attached to a chain, which Arabs and Christians alike don when ill or mad : it effects an immediate cure (Thévenot, *Voyages*, ii, 639). *Cf.* d'Arvieux, *Mémoires*, ii, 191. Other cases are cited by Burton, *Inner Life of Syria*, p. 389 ; Guérin, *Palestine*, p. 312 ; Kelly, *Syria*, p. 103 ; Petermann, *Reisen im Orient*, p. 319 ; Vaujany, *Caire*, pp. 293 f. ; Allom and Walsh, *Constantinople*, ii, 32 ; White, in *Mosl. World*, ix, 181.

[4] Hence the beating of lunatics with these chains (Burton, *Inner Life of Syria*, p. 389; Guérin, *Descr. de la Pales.*, p. 312: both references are to a chapel of S. George just outside Jerusalem) ; *cf.* the beating at the Maronite chapel of S. Anthony mentioned by Pococke, *Voyages*, iii, 312.

particularly with S. George[1] in the East. There may be something in the *Acta* to account for this prominence of S. George, or it may be only that, like S. Michael, he is associated with dragon-killing[2] and so casting out devils.[3]

[1] *Cf.* Burton and Guérin, *locc. citt.*, and Tobler, *Topogr. von Jerusalem*, i, 501 ff.

[2] *Cf.* Hasluck, *Letters*, p. 85.

[3] *Cf.* S. Maria dell' Inferno, mentioned above, p. 668, n. 3.

LII

TERRA LEMNIA [1]

IN ancient medical practice several sorts of natural earths, found at various places in the Levant and described in detail by Pliny and other writers, had recognized curative properties, being employed for the most part as astringents and desiccatives in the treatment of wounds and internal hemorrhages. Pliny's list includes the earths of Chios, Kimolos, Eretria, Lemnos, Melos, Samos, and Sinope. The use of many of these persisted into quite modern times,[2] but none was so generally esteemed either by ancients or moderns as the

[1] Reprinted, with additions, from *B.S.A.* xvi, 220 ff.

[2] The earth of Chios is mentioned in modern times by Jerome Justinian, a Chiote Genoese (*Descrip. de Chio*, p. 68) as found near Pyrgi: 'En un autre terrouer du dit Pirgy se trouvoit autre fois la terre dite Chia laquelle a le mesme vertu que celle qu'on nomme Lemnia. Le Grand Turc s'en sert maintenant en son seau [*sic*].' Thevet (*Cosmog. de Levant*, p. 56) considered it as valuable medicinally as the Lemnian, which opinion was confirmed by Covel a hundred years later. The latter adds that the Chian earth was dug like the Lemnian at a special season (May, whence it was called πηλομαιότικο), but was not used medicinally but only for washing (MS. Add. 22914, f. 57 *v*). It has now become almost unknown, owing to the low price of olive-oil soaps, but it is traditionally said to have been a government monopoly under the Genoese. 'Kimolian' earth is said by Dale (*Pharmacologia*, 1693, p. 47) to have been found in England. In Samos, Pococke (*Descr. of the East*, II, ii, p. 29) notices a white earth which was eaten by children in his day. Melian earth is mentioned by Sir Thomas Sherley in his account of the island (my article in *B.S.A.* xiii, 347: *cf.* Pococke, *loc. cit.*). Sinopic earth (see Robinson in *A. J. Phil.* xxvii, 141, § 4) is probably the Armenian bole mentioned by Dale and his contemporaries as coming 'from Turkey', and by others (Poullet, &c.) as a frequent ingredient in sophisticated Lemnian earth. It is presumably the *Terra Saracenica* used by the Arabs against plague, and the *Kil Ermeni* which was foisted on me as Lemnian in the Egyptian bazaar at Constantinople.

Lemnian, which was set apart in the first place by its alleged miraculous power against poisons (especially the bites of venomous reptiles) and later against plague, and in the second by the religious accompaniments and the various artificial restrictions of its production.

Of the Lemnian earth Pliny, who happens to be our earliest authority, says it was highly reputed among the ancients,[1] but we have no means of ascertaining how far back the use of it extends. It is interesting to note that the hill Moschylos on which it was found was associated in legend with the fall of Hephaestus, and that one version of the Philoktetes myth attributes the cure of the hero's wound, caused ultimately, it will be remembered, by the poison of the Lernean hydra, to this medicine.[2]

With Dioskorides we begin to be better informed: he tells us the earth was found in a tunnel-like aperture in Lemnos, prepared with an admixture of goat's blood, and thereafter made up into tablets and stamped with the figure of a goat, whence came its popular name 'goat's seal'. It had a singular virtue against poisons if drunk with wine, and acted as an emetic when poison had already been swallowed. It was also sovereign against the bites of venomous reptiles and for dysentery.[3] It will be seen that the chief use of it is here considered as antidotal.

It is from Galen [4] that we first hear of the ceremonies in connexion with the digging of the earth, and his information rests on his own investigations in Lemnos itself, whither he went especially for this purpose. On a certain day, he says, the priestess (of Artemis apparently from the sequel) came out of the city (Hephaestias), sprinkled a certain quantity of barley on the place where the earth was dug, and performed other cere-

[1] *N.H.* xxxv, 6. [2] Philostratos, *Heroikos*, 306.

[3] v, 113: *cf.* Le Strange, *Palestine*, p. 431, for the antidotal earth of Dair Mughan.

[4] *De Simpl. Medic. Fac.* ix, 206.

monial observances, after which she took a cartload of the earth and returned to the city. Here the earth was cleansed and sealed with the figure of Artemis.[1] These usages were said in the island to be very ancient. The earth was locally used for ulcers (for which it was employed with success by Galen himself), for wounds, as an emetic, and for poisonous bites ; for internal use it was drunk in wine; for external, applied with vinegar. There were three grades, of each of which the first might be handled only by the priestess ; the rest, like so many of the other earths cited by Pliny, being used industrially.

After Galen there is a complete silence among our authorities as to what happened at Lemnos.[2] The earth continues to be cited after the ancients and the use of reputed Lemnian Seal[3] or *Terra sigillata* persisted through the Middle Ages. Bartholomaeus Anglicus (13th c.) says of it :

'A serten veyne of the erthe is called Terra Sigillata, and is singulerly colde and drie. And Dioscorides calleth it Terra saracenica and argentea, and is somedeale whyte, well smellynge and clere. The cheyf vertue therof byndeth and stauncheth. And powder therof tempred with the whyte of an egge stauncheth bledyng at the nose. And helpeth ayenst swellinge of the fete and ayenste the gowte, if it be layed in a playstre therto, as it is sayde in Lapidario.'[4]

It will be noted, however, that there is no evidence of first-hand knowledge in the above account, still less mention of Lemnos. In fact the earliest first-hand mention of the Lemnian earth in a modern writer

[1] The goat's-blood story of Dioskorides was ridiculed ; it was probably an inference from the seal he saw.

[2] The last of the ancients to mention the earth seems to be P. Aegineta, vii (*s.v. Ge, terra*).

[3] *Lempnia frigdos* in a medieval glossary quoted by Tozer, *Islands of the Aegean*, p. 260, where *frigdos* stands for σφραγίδος. Bartholomaeus Anglicus (see following quotation) seems to have misunderstood this gloss in saying that the earth is 'singulerly colde and drie.'

[4] *Lib.* XV, ccxxix, cap. lxxxxviii (ed. London, 1535).

known to me is in the *Voyage* of Joos van Ghistele, who visited Lemnos in 1485. He gives the following account of the earth :

'It is found that *Terra Sigillata* is the best in the world. It is used in certain medicines and is produced in Lemnos in a pool which dries up every summer and is full of water in winter. When this pool begins to dry up, a thick scum, variegated in colour, forms on its surface. This is skimmed off and laid on clean planks as required, according to the method in use locally. When dry, it is made up into round pellets or flat cakes, sealed, together with several other things, with the seal of the Lord of the aforesaid island [Lemnos], and despatched to various countries.' [1]

The next modern author to mention the earth is Agricola,[2] who, writing in 1530, says that he had seen tablets of Lemnian earth brought from Constantinople; they were of a yellowish colour and stamped with Turkish letters. The Turks held it to be the only remedy for plague, using it as the Arabs used Armenian bole. At Venice it was ill known but sold dear.

[1] Joos van Ghistele, *'T Voyage*, Ghent, 1572, pp. 348 f.: 'Men vinter *Terra sigilata* de beste die terwerelt is, die men useert in eenighe medecinen, ende ghenereert daer in eenē poel die alle somertidē wt droocht eñ in dē winter is hi vol waters. Als deser poel begint in te droogē so comter op eenen coē van moren van veel diueersche coleurē, dē welckē mē bgadert bouē af eñ leittē op schoon plancken te droogē na dē heesch so sijt wetē te doen dier in werckē: eñ diē gedroocht zijn makēder af ronde balotē of platte, ende wert met meer anderē substanciē gheseghelt met dē teeckē vandē heere die tvoorseide eylant te bewaren heeft ende so gevoert in diuersche landen. [Professor W. E. Collinson informs me that the form *coe* appears to stand for the Dutch and Flemish *caem* (Mod. Dutch *kaam*), a scum on the surface of beer or wine caused by a fungus: it is cognate with the English dialect *coom*, *kanes*. For *heesch* see Vervijs and Verdam's *Middelnederlandsch Woordenboch*. For the translation as a whole I am indebted to Professor R. Priebsch.—M. M. H.]

[2] Agricola, *Bermannus*, pp. 115 f. In 1579 Breuning was given some *Terra sigillata* and saw 'the real and the sophisticated given to two dogges whereof one dyed miserably' (*Orient. Reyss*, p. 40).

About the middle of the century we have circumstantial accounts of the digging of the earth written by two scientific men, Belon and Albacario, who, like Galen, went themselves to Lemnos to investigate it. The first of these began his researches systematically by gathering information at Constantinople as to the various seals which guaranteed the quality of the earth, and these seals are engraved in his book for the benefit of the medical world. Belon's account of the ceremonial digging (at which, however, he was not present) is full and interesting as reproducing almost exactly, *mutatis mutandis*, the ancient ritual. The digging still took place only once a year, viz. at the festival of the Transfiguration (6 August), and was preceded by a religious service at the church of the Saviour (which would naturally keep this day as its dedication festival), not far from the hill on which the earth was dug. The Turkish governor (Subashi) of the island and the Turkish and Greek notables took part in the ceremony. A proclamation was made [1] and a sheep was sacrificed as *kurban*, which was afterwards eaten by the Turks present, as the Greeks fasted at this time of year.[2] The digging began at or before sunrise and continued for six hours, after which the hole was closed and left till the next year. It was a penal offence to dig it out of season. The earth dug was cleansed and stamped with a seal bearing in Arabic letters the words *tin i makhtum* (sealed earth). Soranzo adds that it was baked.[3] Certain officers were allowed

[1] This detail, with the text of the proclamation 'Le grand Dieu hault et tout puissant declare aujourd'huy l'effect et virtu de ceste terre à ses tres-fideles serviteurs', is preserved by Thevet (*Cosmog. Univ.* ii, 805), a bad authority, but his account seems derived from a good source beyond Belon. The characteristic dialogue with the Greek, '*Frangi thes nagorasis apo tin gimou?*' (*Φράγκε, θές νὰ ἀγοράσῃς ἀπὸ τὴν γῆν μου*), &c., rings true. [2] Till the 15 Aug. (Assumption).

[3] 'Formansi delle tre differenti sorti di terra, tre diverse sorti di girelle, . . . *dando agli uni ed agli altri una cottura per maggior durata*' (in Alberi, *Relazioni degli Ambasciatori Veneti*, III, ii, 220).

to take a share of it, and the bystanders a small quantity each, but the bulk of the earth, including the whole of the first quality,[1] was placed after sealing in a packet (also sealed) and sent to Constantinople by special messenger for the use of the sultan.[2] A certain amount, presumably of inferior quality, was sold on the spot by the Subashi to merchants.[3]

Our second authority, Stefano Albacario, was a Spanish physician [4] commissioned to go to Lemnos to investigate the earth by the Austrian ambassador Busbecq, who sent his account to Mattioli.[5] Albacario's account in the main corroborates Belon's. Interesting new details illustrating the religious aspect of the digging are (1) that the earth was supposed to have virtue only on the day chosen for the official digging, (2) that a special washer had the handling of the earth up to the time of its exportation, and (3) that this washer appropriated a small bag of the earth, which, however, was not sealed.

Both Belon and Busbecq probably owed their in-

[1] Palerne.

[2] The Grand Signior habitually drank out of a cup made of the earth (Palerne) and it was grated over all his meals as a precaution against poison (Crusius, p. 508). Galland (*Journal*, ii, 110) says the Grand Signior habitually ate from a dish baked of a certain green earth from India which was an antidote against poison.

[3] The merchants are spoken of as Jews by Thevet (*Cosmog. Univ.* ii, 805), and very likely were at this date. A hundred years later von Rheinfelden speaks of *Greeks* paying 18,000 dollars to the sultan for the monopoly of it. From Belon's account (pp. 43 ff.) it appears that the Subashi paid a fixed sum and made what he could from the sale of the earth: it was evidently regarded, like mines all over the empire and certain other natural products, *e. g.* the mastic of Chios, as a perquisite of the sultan, who farmed it as he thought fit.

[4] Probably a Spanish Jew with a Christian name; the surname sounds like Arabic; Franco, *Hist. des Isr. de l'Emp. Ott.*, p. 284, cites as a Jewish Spanish name Albuhaïré derived from the Spanish mountains Alpujarras.

[5] Mattioli, *Comment. in Dioscor.* v, 73. Albacario made one attempt to go to Lemnos while Busbecq was still at Constantinople, but was prevented. He must therefore have gone after 1562.

terest in and knowledge of the earth less to its repute in European pharmacy at their date than to the custom then current at the court of Constantinople of offering tablets of the earth as official presents to foreign ambassadors and other persons of quality. Thus we find recorded presents of *terre sigillée* to French ambassadors at various dates from 1546 onwards;[1] Busbecq, the patron of Albacario, was an ambassador and had, moreover, seen the earth successfully used against plague.[2] Slightly later von Ungnad, an Austrian ambassador, was given 40 tablets of Lemnian earth and a cup made of it[3] by Zygomalas, who also sent some to Crusius.

A long series of western travellers, as the bibliography below shows, subsequently interested themselves in the famous earth, none adding greatly to our knowledge but Covel, who appears to record a more superstitious belief in it than his forerunners. Whereas Albacario distinctly says that the religious service was not supposed to influence the power of the earth, Covel reports that 'several papas, as well as others, would have persuaded me that at the time of our Saviour's transfiguration, this place was sanctified to have His sacred earth, and that it is never to be found soft and unctuous, but always perfect rock unlesse only that day . . . and at that time when the priest hath said his liturgy'.[4] Covel further gives minute particulars of the washing of the earth;[5] this was done at the fountain of the neighbouring

[1] Charrière, *Négociations dans le Levant*, i, 618; ii, 776; iii, 548; de la Vigne; *cf.* Belon, ch. xxii.

[2] Busbecq, *Life and Letters*, i, 164.

[3] Gerlach, *Tage-Buch*, p. 403 (1577). [4] Ed. Bent, p. 283.

[5] See also the rather obscure account of Soranzo, which lays great stress on a water-channel diverted on the day of the digging, the earth being found apparently in the natural receptacle into which the water normally flowed: 'si devia l'acqua dal canale, acciò non scorra più nella fossa, dalla quale alzatosi il coperchio, se ne leva con molta diligenza tutta l'acqua rimasa con vasi ed in fine con spugne, poi se ne cava quel fango e molticcio (so B.M. *Reg.* 14 A, xiii, *f.* 10) che ha

village (Ἁγία Ὑπάτη), which, merely to increase the miracle apparently, was supposed to have an underground connexion with the place of the digging. At this period it was accounted 'an infallible cure of all agues, taken at the beginning of the fit with water' and employed also for fluxes, to hasten childbirth, and as an antidote; no vessel made of it would hold poison but immediately splintered into a thousand fragments. The latter superstition has survived till our own day and is recorded also by several writers before and after Covel.[1]

As to the history of the Lemnian earth in the medieval period it has been generally assumed that the export was continuous: de Launay even goes so far as to say that the constant bickering for the possession of the island was due to the value of the earth as an article of commerce;[2] as a matter of fact the strategic value of the island is a quite sufficient explanation, and there is no evidence to show that the knowledge of the earth in medieval Europe was more than theoretical. This is borne out by Agricola's statement that it was known to few and sold dear in the Venice of his day (which, be it remarked, had had constant relations with Constantinople for several centuries) and by the ignorance of Thevet, who at the time of his voyage (1549) thought the earth came from Athos.[3] Its excessive rarity about this time is attested by the same author,[4] who says he sold four tablets of it in Malta for fifty-five ducats. The complete silence of the early *isolarii*, including Buondel-

fatto l'acqua, il quale si mette a parte per la prima e più perfetta sorte di terra . . .'

[1] Crusius, Soranzo, Benetti, Pococke, Tozer.

[2] This is evidently suggested by the anecdote of the taking of Lemnos in 1657, quoted by Tozer from von Hammer.

[3] *Cosmog. de Levant*, p. 36. But in his *Cosmog. Univ.* he represents himself as having visited the island. *Cf.* below, p. 685, n. 5.

[4] *Cosmog. Univ.* ii, 805.

monti's, and of such authors as the local Critobulus of Imbros and the traveller Cyriac of Ancona is a valuable negative argument.[1] The only shred of evidence for the appreciation of the earth before the Turkish period is Belon's remark (repeated after him by several others who are probably drawing on his account)[2] that the custom of digging the earth on one day only dated from the Venetians: the Venetians occupied the island 1464–1477; how, if they organized the digging, as is alleged, for commercial purposes, was the Lemnian earth almost unknown again fifty years later? It is besides probable that 'the time of the Venetians', like the modern 'time of the Genoese' all over Turkey, was only a vague expression for remote date.

In reality the revival in popularity of the famous drug is most likely due to the appearance of the Spanish Jews in the Levant. It is well known that the Jews, expelled in 1492 from Catholic Spain, flocked in the next fifty years to the dominions of the sultan, where they found a religious toleration unknown in Europe. During the second half of the sixteenth century the expelled Jews held a recognized position at Constantinople in the diplomatic and still more in the medical world. Several of the sultans about this date had Jewish physicians,[3] who were recommended not only by their scientific

[1] For instance, Amato Lusitano (Franco, *op. cit.*, p. 75) escaped from Pesaro after 1555 to Salonica, where he died, but there is no trace of his knowing *Terra Lemnia* in his *Curationum Medicinalium Centuriae Septem*, of which the seventh is dedicated to a Salonica friend.

[2] Du Loir, Coronelli; Covel was told the same thing in 1677, only twenty years after another Venetian occupation.

[3] *e.g.* Selim I, Suleiman II, Selim II: the body-physicians of the last two were Andalusian Jews (M. A. Levy, *Don Joseph Nasi*, p. 6). For the position of the Turkish Jews at this time in commerce and finance, see Belon (III, xiii), where also stress is laid on their proficiency in medicine and knowledge of ancient medical writers, derived from Spanish translations. They had already at this period a printing-press at Constantinople.

attainments, derived from Moorish Spain, but by their loyalty to their adopted sovereign. It is possible that one of these, knowing Galen from the Arabic translations, was instrumental in bringing the Lemnian earth to the notice of his imperial master. It is, on the other hand, by no means necessary to consider that the use of the earth was at any time extinct in Lemnos; we should probably conceive of it as a local remedy consecrated by religion in medieval as in ancient and in modern times till quite recent years.[1]

Immediately after the revival of the Lemnian earth, and for a century or more after, a number of earths found elsewhere in Europe, begin to compete with it. These were probably either actually similar in composition or credited with similar properties. The date of their discovery, when it can be ascertained, is subsequent to the rediscovery of the Lemnian earth and possibly dependent on it. They are known generically as 'sealed earths', a local epithet being added, but most have no religious associations. The device of the seal is generally a coat of arms and the form of the tablet follows the Lemnian.

Of these the German and Austrian varieties are fully discussed in Zedler's *Universal Lexikon*, s.v. *Siegelerde*, and many varieties of seals are figured by Wurm [2] and

[1] A parallel case of a medicinal earth which has never attracted the learned is to be found in the 'blewish sort of clay' like fullers' earth, seen by Covel (*Diaries*, p. 247) at Marash near Adrianople, which was moistened by a miracle on the day of the Assumption and bathed in by Greeks, Turks, and Jews 'for any sort of infirmity'. Covel thought it might be of value for cutaneous diseases, but scouted the miracle. The former British Consul at Adrianople (Lieut.-Colonel Rhys Samson, to whom I may here express my obligations) tells me this mud is still used for rheumatism and the same day observed. A service is naturally celebrated in the church of the Virgin, but is now said to have no connexion with the mud-bath. It will be remembered that the same is said by Albacario of the service in Lemnos.

[2] *Museum Wurmianum* (1722).

Valentini.[1] Cups were made of the Bohemian [2] and Strigonian [3] earths, implying presumably their use as antidotes on the Lemnian analogy; it is further significant that one variety, found near Breslau, was used like the Lemnian for plague in 1633.[4] In France the earth of Blois seems to have been first exploited about the time of Belon's book. It is mentioned by Thevet [5] and Palerne.[6] In Italy were exploited the earths called Sessana, Toccarese, Florentina [7] (stamped with the Medici arms), and Oreana.[8] The Toccarese variety was used as an antidote,[9] and as cups were made of terra Sinuessa the same may be inferred of it. A Calabrian earth is said by Pococke to have entirely superseded the Lemnian in European practice.[10]

Maltese earth (Pauladadum) is so interesting a parallel (or derivative) of the Lemnian as to deserve a longer notice. It was found in small quantities in the cave of S. Paul near Città Vecchia and appears not to have been in vogue before the Lemnian; our first notices of it are subsequent to the coming of the Knights, and the church on the spot was built only in 1606.[11] The earth was used for small-pox and fevers, and particularly for the bites of reptiles, this magical use being associated directly with the incident of S. Paul and the viper, after which all reptiles in Malta became harmless. Numerous

[1] *Museum Museorum* (1704–14), ii, pl. i. [2] Wurm, *loc. cit.*, p. 15.

[3] Strigonian earth (Strigonium = Gran in Hungary) was discovered as early as 1568 (Zedler), when Gran was Turkish. A specimen of this earth, the variety *de Monte Acuto*, is preserved in the museum of the Pharmaceutical Society (*cf.* F. Imperato, *Ist. Nat.* (1590), v, xxxvi).

[4] Zedler, *Univ. Lexikon.*

[5] *Cosmog. de Levant*: Münster (ed. Belleforest i, 313) says it was discovered *de nostre tems.*

[6] *Peregrinations*, p. 361. See also Zedler, *loc. cit.*, and Sincerus, p. 60.

[7] Valentini, *loc. cit.* ii, pl. i. [8] Wurm, *loc. cit.*, pp. 7 ff.

[9] Imperato, *loc. cit.* (1590), v, xxxv. [10] Wurm, *loc. cit.*, p. 347.

[11] Brydone (1770), *Tour*, i, 325; Sonnini, *Voyage*, i, 69.

varieties of seals are shown in the plates of Wurm and Valentini, including (1) the bust of S. Paul holding staff and serpent (*rev.* a Maltese cross), (2) S. John (*rev.* arms of the Grand Master), (3) a hermit worshipping the cross (*rev.* a three-masted ship) and various saints. Images and vases were also made of the earth, the vases being thought, like the Lemnian, to crumble away when poison was poured into them.[1] We have thus an almost complete parallel for the Lemnian earth.[2]

Outside Europe the earth of Bethlehem seems worth mentioning in this connexion. It is found in a cave still shown as the refuge of the Holy Family and a place where the Virgin nursed the infant Christ. The cave is known already to Mandeville (1322);[3] a Russian pilgrim Grethenios (*c.* 1400)[4] says that pilgrims took a milky powder from the place 'for remedy and benediction' generally. Later it became specialized as a milk-charm, and was so used even by Mohammedans.[5] The earth, which is chalky, white, and very friable, is now made up into tablets about an inch square, roughly stamped with the bust of the Virgin on one side and a monogram on the other side. Yet a second sort, much harder and more like clay, is sold outside the Sepulchre church; this is made up in round tablets with a very rough device (on one side only) showing the Holy Family in the stable, the beasts being quaintly

[1] They were also used for fever, *cf.* Carayon's *Rel. Inéd. de la Compagn. de Jésus*, 1864, p. 129.

[2] For the Maltese earth see Thevet, *Cosmog. Univ.* i, 27; F. Imperato, *Ist. Nat.* (1590), v, 37; Breithaupt, *Helden Insel Malta* (1632), p. 69; E. Francisci, *Lustgarten* (1668), pl. xli; John Ray, *Travels*, i, 262; Zedler, *loc. cit.*; Brydone (1770). Wurm (p. 347) figures a cup of it with legend DIVINO HOC PAVLI ANTIDOTO ATRA VENENA FVGABIS and reptiles moulded in relief.

[3] Ed. Wright, p. 163. [4] Khitrovo, *Itin. Russes*, p. 182.

[5] Thevet, *Cosmog. de Lev.* p. 37; *cf.* also Feyerabend, *Reyssbuch*, pp. 220, 274; Villamont, *Voyages*, ii, 426; Lithgow, *Rare Adventures*, pp. 247, 425. A specimen is figured by Valentini, *loc. cit.* ii, pl. i.

represented by projecting heads. This would appear to be an ' orthodox ' variety.[1]

The vogue of these rival earths naturally restricted the trade in the Lemnian. In the middle of the eighteenth century the traveller Pococke says it was no longer carried to Europe but used only in the Levant (and even here it was menaced by the export of the Maltese variety), while the pharmacist Pomet [2] says that the number of seals then current was confusing, making him think ' that everyone makes 'em to his fancy ' ; he curiously dissociates the sealed earth from the Lemnian, which ' was said to be the same as the sealed earth but in its natural state without any impression upon it '.[3] Such a state of uncertainty among the profession could not fail to be fatal to what was essentially a faith-cure.

The West at length reached the stage of pure scepticism. Choiseul-Gouffier, Hunt, and Sibthorp no longer have any belief in the virtue of the Lemnian earth, and analysis has justified their conclusions, at least so far as concerns modern samples.[4] This scepticism has, with the spread of western influence, reached Lemnos itself. Conze in the sixties was able still to purchase sealed tablets of the earth at an apothecary's, and in 1876 Pantelides writes of it as still in repute among the Turks

[1] Tablets of these earths were early used as charms, *cf.* Lucius, *Anfänge des Heiligenk.*, p. 194 (quoting especially Augustinian, *Civ. Dei*, xx, 8, 7). At Sens Millin records a box of earths from the Holy Land (*Midi de la France*, i, 97).

[2] *Compleat History of Drugs* (1712), p. 415. A contemporary specimen of Lemnian earth (which can hardly be genuine) in the museum of the Pharmaceutical Society is shown in *B.S.A.* xvi, p. 230 : this variety is mentioned by Zedler and figured by Wurm, p. 10.

[3] Probably the preparation made from the baobab tree and called Terra Lemnia Sigillata, *Encycl. Brit.*, 3 ed., *s. v. Adansonia.*

[4] Daubeny, *Volcanos*, pp. 236–7 ; De Launay, *Chez les Grecs*, pp. 122 ff. Tozer doubts whether the original vein is not exhausted. On the chemical side of edible earths in general an article (inaccessible to me) has lately been published in *Schweiz. Wochenschr. f. Chymie*, 1909, pp. 417–25.

of Constantinople. Tozer found the superstition expiring, the festival nearly abandoned, and the site in a fair way to be lost. I myself in 1909 could not obtain the earth in the capital of the island, and at the pottery below the site bought only bowls of ill-levigated clay bearing the traditional inscription *tin i makhtum*.[1] The monopoly of the pottery and seal, formerly hereditary in a Turkish family, has lost even this link with the past, and the once priceless antidotal bowls have come down to the very moderate figure of a halfpenny each.

In conclusion, it is not without interest to consider in connexion with the Lemnian *terra sigillata* and its analogies a category of sealed earths owing their virtue solely to their provenance and associations. Earth from the tombs of holy men is regularly conceived of in the East [2] as partaking of the virtue of the sainted dead, and consequently as possessing healing and other miraculous powers.[3] Those who knew Salonica in Turkish times will remember how the *khoja* of the Great Mosque distributed to pilgrims (at a price) minute quantities of the dust from the 'Tomb of S. Demetrius' for use as medicine or amulets. At the tomb of Sheikh Adi, the patron of the Yezidi, near Mosul, balls of earth from the grave are similarly sold to pilgrims.[4] The next stage in development is to seal the grave-earth as a guarantee

[1] The seal itself is modern according to the tradition given by Tozer.

[2] Also in the West, *cf.* Greg. Turon. *De Mirac. S. Mart.* I, xxxvii, xxxviii.

[3] See further above, pp. 262 f.

[4] Layard, *Discoveries in Nineveh*, i, 284. This earth, like that of Kerbela, is of considerable ritual importance (see Heard, in *J. R. Anthr. Inst.* xli, 210, 212). Similarly, the holy oil made at Echmiadzin is mixed with earth, made into balls, and hung up in a house for luck (Mrs. Bishop, *Journeys in Persia*, i, 277). At the church of S. James in Jerusalem de Brèves saw tablets of earth brought by pious Armenians (*Voyages*, p. 122).

of its authenticity. Lane, in his *Modern Egyptians*, describes sealed tablets of earth from the Prophet's grave at Medina, which are used as charms by Moslems.[1] Similar sealed earth is brought by pilgrims from Kerbela and Nejef.[2] Like these grave-earths the sealed earths of Bethlehem and Malta seem to depend for their vogue entirely on their religious associations. In the case of the Lemnian earth, side by side with the scientific or pseudo-scientific appreciation of its qualities, we discern at all ages a similar strain of religious association,[3] which reinforces its more positive virtues. The Turks told an artless legend that 'a disciple of Christ, being miraculously transported to Lemnos, wept so sorely at the separation from his Master that of his tears was formed the wondrous earth'.[4] As to the Greeks, Covel's report of their associating it with our Saviour's transfiguration, has been given already.[5] In Galen's time some lost legend connected the earth with Artemis, as in earlier days its existence was obviously considered as marking the place where Hephaestus fell.

Traces of a further cycle of secular folk-lore now lost,

[1] Ch. xi (p. 323). 'Oblong flat cakes, of a kind of greyish earth, each about an inch in length, and stamped with Arabic characters, "In the name of God! Dust of our land [mixed] with the saliva of some of us".'

[2] P. della Valle, *Viaggi*, iii, 461: 'Sopra la tomba [of Abbas], trouai . . . certe come medaglie, fatte di terra cotta, che sogliono portar da Kierbela, e dalla sepoltura del lor famoso Hussein: nelle quali medaglie di terra hanno per vso d'improntare il nome di Dio, con qualche parola diuota.' *Cf.* Cuinet, *Turquie d'Asie*, iii, 202, and Niebuhr, *Voyage en Arabie*, ii, 223. For the earth of Nejef see Cuinet, *op. cit.* iii, 209.

[3] *Cf.* Greg. Turon., *De Glor. Mart.* I, vii.

[4] Blochet, in *Rev. Or. Lat.* 1909, p. 175. The tears became earth on 7 August.

[5] Above, p. 677. To this idea the proximity of Lemnos to the peak of Athos, which is dedicated to the Transfiguration, has evidently contributed. Westerns seem to have connected Athos with the 'exceeding high mountain' of the Temptation (Struys, *Voyages*, p. 70).

connecting the Lemnian earth with Philoktetes, may possibly be discerned. According to one account, Philoktetes was cured on Lemnos by the priests of Hephaestus,[1] the remedy being presumably the earth of classical fame.[2] But in the usual form of the legend the stench of the hero's wound made him so unbearable to men that he was ' marooned ', naturally enough on an *uninhabited* island. The figure of Philoktetes thus approximates to the ' leprous prince ' of a folk-lore cycle current in both East and West. In this cycle the hero, banished from men, is eventually healed by a natural remedy, the use of which is suggested to him by observing its power of curing diseased animals.[3] The remedy is in several versions a hot spring, and the animal a pig. Examples are the well-known legend of Prince Bladud at Bath, and those of ' Helena, daughter of Yanko-ibn-Madyan ' at Yalova in Bithynia,[4] and of an anonymous Byzantine princess at Brusa.[5] I would tentatively suggest that the goat, hitherto unexplained, which in Dioskorides' time formed the device of the Lemnian

[1] Eustath. *ad Hom.* 330 ; Hephaestion, in Photius, 489 R.

[2] Philostratos, *Heroikos*, 306.

[3] For remedies indicated by animals see Baring Gould, *Curious Myths*, 2nd series, pp. 129 ff.

[4] Evliya, *Travels*, ii, 33. ' Yanko-ibn-Madyan ' is a legendary emperor of Constantinople frequently mentioned by Evliya, his name being apparently a compound of ' Yanko ' (John Hunyadi) and his son Matthias !

[5] Kandis, *Ἡ Προῦσα*, p. 185. *Cf.* also the similar story of Rhodanthe and Dosicles (a Greek novel by Theodoros Prodromos, of the twelfth century, ed. Hercher, *Erotici Script.* ii) where Rhodanthe dies, but Dosicles, when hunting, sees a wounded bear roll himself into a certain herb and recover, so gathers the herb and revives Rhodanthe. *Cf.* also a modern story attributing the discovery of the hot springs of Tiflis to a hunting party which saw a wounded stag plunge into them and revive (Gulbenkian, *Transcaucasie*, p. 102). A partridge found a spring for thirsty Arabs (Palmer, *Desert of the Exodus*, p. 130). A gazelle led to the cure of the sultan Sanjar's son, for which see above, p. 462, n. 5.

seal,[1] was in the case of Philoktetes the indirect instrument of the cure.[2]

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[1] See above, p. 672.

[2] A goat so figures in a modern Greek variant of the theme of the Leprous Prince (Polites, *Παραδόσεις*, no. 83). In classical times goats were supposed to have the power of recognizing the (medicinal) dittany of Crete: see Virgil, *Aen.* xii. 412-15; Pliny, *H. N.* xxv. 8. 97; *Hist. Plant.* 98; *cf.* also Tozer, *Islands of the Aegean*, p. 47. The goat is a difficult animal to connect with Artemis.

[3] Authors who visited Lemnos are marked with a dagger (†).

[4] See Blochet, in *Rev. Or. Lat.* xii (1909), pp. 175 f.

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LIII

OBSERVATIONS ON INCUBATION [1]

FOR accidental reasons incubation in the ancient temples of Asklepios has become so familiar to us that we are inclined to think it typical and to consider all phenomena which resemble those of the Asklepios temples as derived from them. In the wider sense, however, incubation means sleeping in a holy place with the intention of receiving some desired communication [2] from the *numen* supposed to inhabit the holy place.

[1] [My husband left a quantity of scattered notes together with a brief draft of his ideas on incubation, it being his intention to write a long article on the subject. As some of his ideas have been anticipated by the admirable article of Mr. Louis H. Gray in Hastings' *Encyclopaedia of Religion*, which appeared too late for my husband to consult it, I have done no more than edit his draft and insert as footnotes his illustrative references.—M. M. H.].

[2] By no means always in connexion with healing. Thus S. Romuald was turned to the religious life by a vision of S. Apollinare when sleeping in his church at Ravenna (P. Guérin, *Vie des Saints*, *s.v.*). Incubation at Daniel's tomb was supposed to bring remission of present grievances and insurance against those to come (Walpole, *Travels*, p. 423, quoted also by Carmoly, *Itinéraires*, p. 495). S. Francis Caracciolo (died 1608), on feeling his end approach, obtained permission to pass a night in the Holy House of Loretto (P. Guérin, *op. cit.*, *s.v.*). In the same way Catholic pilgrims formerly incubated in the Sepulchre church 'for benediction' (Lithgow, *Rare Adventures*, p. 335; Casola's *Pilgrimage*, ed. Newett, p. 261): this is still important to Russian pilgrims (S. Graham, *With the Russian Pilgrims to Jerusalem*, pp. 131 f.). Analogous was the incubation at S. Patrick's Purgatory, which was supposed to relieve from future purgatory (Baring Gould, *Curious Myths*, 1st Series, no. xi). Incubation at a certain tomb relieved a fratricide from his penitential chains (Greg. Turon., *De Glor. Conf.* lxxxvii). A woman's insistent prayers obtained at length a relic of S. John the Baptist (Greg. Turon., *De Glor. Martyrum*,

Incubation in this sense is natural and logical when the hypothesis [1] prevails that (1) the *numen* is localized and has special power at his holy place and that (2) the darkness and quiet of night together with the dream-state [2] are peculiarly suitable conditions for communication with the *numen*. The revelation is in the first place an oracle [3] and comes by way of instruction. For this reason the procedure at the shrines of the oracular Amphiaraos [4] and Trophonios in ancient Greece is very similar to that familiar to us at the healing shrine of

I, xiv). Lucius cites a case where incubation brought victory (*Anfänge des Heiligenk.*, p. 243) and another where it was the means of recovering stolen property (*ibid.*, p. 274, n. 3); it may be remarked that, while the author regards Cosmas and Damian as successors of Asklepios he does not find incubation practised by them. S. Theodore recovered after incubation some property stolen from a Jerusalem goldsmith (*ibid.*).

[1] This hypothesis is common to most peoples at a certain stage in their religious development and may be perpetuated late in their civilization; it is as characteristic of the Jewish, and therefore of the Mohammedan and Christian, religion as it was of classical antiquity. The most interesting modern Jewish incubation shrine is at Jobar near Damascus, where Elisha is the healing saint and the place of incubation is a vault under a synagogue built in an otherwise exclusively Mohammedan village. Accounts of the ritual are given by Burton, *Inner Life of Syria*, p. 101; Mrs. Mackintosh, *Damascus*, p. 98; Petermann, *Reisen im Orient*, i, 64; J. L. Porter, *Giant Cities*, p. 340; Stanley, *Sinai*, p. 412; Thévenot, *Voyages*, ii, 693; d'Arvieux, *Mémoires*, ii, 461; Pococke, *Voyages*, iii, 387; Carmoly, *Itinéraires*, p. 487. According to Carmoly (*op. cit.*, p. 136) it is mentioned by Samuel bar Simson, a pilgrim of A.D. 970, so that its antiquity is vouched for satisfactorily. It is also to be noticed that the shrine is not a grave, but rather a place frequented, like the stations of Khidr, by the spirit of Elisha.

[2] In incubation cases dreams are rather the exception than the rule: cure by no means depends on them.

[3] The case of S. Romuald (above, p. 689, n. 2) approaches the oracular idea, as do those of the recovery of stolen property mentioned by Lucius, *op. cit.*, p. 274, n. 3.

[4] In S. Jerome's time incubation for divination was practised to Asklepios (see the authors quoted by Beugnot, *Hist. Destr. du Paganisme*, i, 369).

Epidauros.[1] As, however, it is mostly for health [2] that men implore the gods, incubation becomes specialized for healing, the method of communication being either by instruction or by direct action of the god.[3]

Any *numen*,[4] even the very substantial *peris* of a Brusa bath, according to Lady Blunt,[5] may be a healing *numen*, his credit and his sphere of action being determined by results .[6] Instances of departmentalization in modern Greece are the Panagia, who is a general practitioner,[7]

[1] So for that matter is the story told of S. Swithin at Winchester, for which see Hutton, *English Saints*, p. 289.

[2] Including relief from sterility: *cf.* d'Arvieux, *Mémoires*, ii, 340 (obscure Moslem saint on the Cape of Beyrut) and Mrs. Hume Griffith, *Behind the Veil in Persia*, p. 282 (Sheikh Mati near Mosul).

[3] Sometimes both are combined as in the case of S. Pardoux cited by Collin (*Hist. Sacrée de Limoges*, p. 435). *Cf.* the words of Zoega 'de aegrotis, qui somnium capiunt in locis martyrum, quo salutem recipiant aut somno moneantur' (quoted by Lucius, *op. cit.*, p. 406, n. 2).

[4] S. Benedict cured the saintly emperor Henry II (P. Guérin, *Vie des Saints*, *s.v. S. Henri II*). S. Andrew in Pontus (White, in *Mosl. World*, ix, 181) and at Patras (Lucius, *op. cit.*, p. 300, after Greg. Turon., *De Glor. Martyr.* I, xxxi), the Forty Martyrs in various places (*cf. e.g.* Lucius, p. 300, and Palmer, *Desert of the Exodus*, p. 118), S. Anthony in Syria (Kelly, *Syria*, p. 103, and Petermann, *Reisen im Orient*, i, 319), S. Elias at the baths of Gadara (lepers: see Antoninus *martyr*, ed. Tobler, vii, 9), and Daniel (Walpole, *Travels*, p. 423) are all mentioned as granting healing after incubation. An obscure saint may be as potent as his more famous brother: thus the almost unknown bishop Marcellus of Paris cured fever (Greg. Turon. *De Glor. Conf.* lxxxix), another Syrian *santon* cures madness (Burckhardt, *Syria*, p. 48, quoted by Kelly, *Syria*, p. 247), while Sidi Yakub of Tlemcen is good for demoniacal possession (Montet, *Culte des Saints Musulmans*, p. 31). S. Makrina at Hassa Keui in Cappadocia also cures (Carnoy and Nicolaides, *Trad. de l'Asie Mineure*, pp. 206 ff.).

[5] See above, p. 109.

[6] S. Israel, a tenth-century saint of Limoges, was buried in the common cemetery, but became known as a saint because of the miracles which occurred after incubation at his grave (Collin, *Hist. Sacrée*, p. 38).

[7] This is usual throughout the Greek area.

and saints Michael[1] and George,[2] who specialize in cures of madness.[3] In general, the cures are not confined to human beings, animals also benefiting by incubation at certain shrines,[4] and, where the population is of mixed religion, all sects tend to frequent a shrine that has acquired fame by its healing miracles.[5]

It happened in ancient Greece that Asklepios achieved fame as a healer, but throughout the later history of his cult it did not differ from other cults which practised incubation except in its elaborate development, which in the end bridged the gap between supernatural (miraculous) and scientific healing. Gradually it became no longer necessary that patients should sleep in the temple itself: cures were effected no less in the surrounding

[1] For S. Michael see M. Tinayre, *Notes d'une Voyageuse*, pp. 148 ff. (in Thrace); Amélineau, *Contes de l'Égypte Chrétienne*, i, 73, 80 (in Egypt); Cousin, *Hist. de l'Église*, tr. Mr. C., III, ii, 3, p. 83 (at Constantinople, from Sozomenos; *cf.* Maury, *Magie*, pp. 241 ff.).

[2] For S. George consult Mrs. Bishop, *Journeys in Persia*, i, 276 (Armenian church at New Julfa); Burton, *Inner Life of Syria*, p. 389 (near Jerusalem, mentioned also by V. Guérin, *Descr. de la Palest.*, p. 312, and Tobler, *Topogr. v. Jerusalem*, ii, 501 ff.); Vaujany, *Caire*, p. 293 (at Cairo); Tobler, *op. cit.* i, 371 (in a Coptic monastery).

[3] *Cf.* the promise of Michael given in Bonnet, *De Mirac. a Mich. patr.*, p. 18, quoted in Hasluck, *Letters*, p. 85, n. 5.

[4] *Cf.* especially Carnoy and Nicolaides, *Trad. de l'Asie Mineure*, pp. 335 ff. (Haji Bekir), and also p. 203 (S. John the Baptist) and p. 204 (S. Makrina).

[5] A Jewish woman of Lule Burgas took her son to incubate in a Turkish *turbe* at Kirk Kupekli in Thrace (F. W. H.); a leprous Jew of Cyprus incubated in a church of S. Michael (Amélineau, *Contes de l'Égypte Chrétienne*, i, 81); Bulgar Uniate parents took their sick child to incubate in an Orthodox church of the Archangels in Thrace (Tinayre, *Notes d'une Voyageuse*, pp. 148 ff.). Christians and Moslems frequent the Damascus tomb of George the Porter (Thévenot, *Voyages*, iii, 49); Turks, Jews, and Christians incubate at a chapel of S. Elias near Ephesus (Svoronos in *Μικρασ. Ἡμερολ.* 1916, pp. 384–91); the Cave of the Invention at Jerusalem is full of the hairs of sick Moslems and Christians who have used it superstitiously (Fabri, *Evagat.* i, 297; further details in Tobler, *Golgatha*, p. 303).

buildings. At the same time the intermediaries of the god tended more and more to become skilled physicians handling a far wider range of disease than the cases susceptible to suggestion, which are those generally catered for with success by purely miraculous means.

It is curious to compare in our own times the establishment of modern hospitals and treatment at certain holy places formerly noted for their supernatural cures. Examples are the hospital at Balukli near Constantinople, the madhouse in the monastery of S. George in the Prinkipo Islands,[1] and the madhouse at Gheel [2] in Belgium. In the last case the supernatural treatment, consisting in passing nine times under the saint's sarcophagus nine days in succession, is on the wane and now optional, though the scientific treatment is well organized and much reputed.

There is, moreover, a social side [3] to incubation, for a pilgrimage to an incubation shrine is at once a complimentary visit to the *numen* and a picnic excursion not in the first place for bodily health.[4] The season of S. George's festival has probably much to do with his popularity in Greece as compared with the essentially identical saints Theodore, Sergius, Bacchus, and Demetrius.[5]

In the East all the stages of incubation may still be found. The simplest experience is that of Clermont-Ganneau,[6] who, travelling rough for economy without tents in his early days, frequently slept in *makams*.[7] In

[1] Allom and Walsh, *Constantinople*, ii, 32.

[2] Maury, *Croy. du Moyen Âge*, p. 359.

[3] For this social side of religion see Hasluck, *Letters*, p. 102.

[4] Lady Burton (*Inner Life of Syria*, p. 101) and Mrs. Mackintosh (*Damascus*, p. 98) are explicit on this point with reference to Jobar.

[5] [The opening of the *Prologue* to Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales* well illustrates this argument.—M. M. H.].

[6] Clermont-Ganneau, *Pal. Inconnue*, p. 55.

[7] A *makam* is defined by Tyrwhitt Drake (*P.E.F.*, *Q.S.* for 1872, p. 179) as an actual tomb or chapel erected in fulfilment of a vow, in

virtue of the *tabu* [1] attached to them, foreigners and natives alike are there safe from danger of attack.[2] In modern Greece, where incubation is characteristic of outlying rather than of parish churches, many pilgrimage churches, being thus in the country, had no other accommodation than the church to offer to pilgrims.[3] This may therefore have been the original practice at modern Greek incubation shrines, Greeks having no prejudice against passing a night in such quarters.[4] Results on credulous minds easily warrant the idea, fervently believed by present-day Russian pilgrims to Jerusalem,[5] that it is beneficial to spend a night in a holy place.

In general the vigil of the saint is considered the best time for healing[6]—that is, the time of the *numen's* manifestation is specialized[7] just as his habitation is localized.

obedience to a dream, or prompted by ostentatious piety. Its *enceinte*, with all it contains, is sacrosanct. One result of this sanctity is that *makams* are frequently used as safe deposits for property (Conder, in *P.E.F.*, *Q.S.* for 1877, p. 91). [1] See further above, p. 237.

[2] Even wild animals are supposed to respect the *tabu* at Daniel's tomb at Susa, where travellers and brigands alike shelter, with their horses, from wild beasts (Loftus, *Travels in Chaldaea*, p. 322).

[3] A Greek from Chios informed me that they celebrate only evening services at the church of S. George near the town of Chios, but they incubate (on the vigil of the festival) at the more remote church of Myrsinidi.

[4] Contrast the feelings of the Roman Catholic priest La Roque when lodged in a church of the Lebanon by a Maronite *curé* (*Voyage de Syrie*, p. 165).

[5] Stephen Graham, *With the Russian Pilgrims to Jerusalem*, pp. 131 f.; above, pp. 268, 689, n. 2.

[6] Georgeakis and Pineau, *Folk-Lore de Lesbos*, p. 344, says 'la veille de la fête d'un saint les malades vont coucher dans sa chapelle'. For the importance of the morning service compare Polites, *Παραδόσεις*, no. 199 (*Ὁ ἅγις Νικήτας . . . 's τὸ πανηγύρι τοῦ ἁγίου εἶχαν μαζευτῆ ἐκεῖ ἀποβραδὺς πολλοὶ χριστιανοί, γιὰ νὰ λειτουργηθοῦν τὸ πρωΐ*): *cf.* the same author's no. 637, and in general Carnoy and Nicolaides, *Trad. de l'Asie Mineure*, pp. 206 ff., 335 f.

[7] Sick animals are best brought to the shrine of Haji Bekir in Cappadocia on the evenings of Thursday, Friday, and Saturday (Carnoy and Nicolaides, *op. cit.*, p. 335).

This suggests that sleeping may not have been originally regarded as the essential, a consideration borne out by the fact that visions are the exception, not the rule. In other words, most cures are not essentially dependent on visions. In classical antiquity, however, sleeping was probably essential for healing; the insistence of Aristophanes on sleeping at Asklepieia will be remembered, also the dream oracles of Amphiaraos and Trophonios.

LIV

THE CALIPH MAMUN AND THE MAGIC FISH [1]

THE circumstances attending the death of the Caliph Mamun (A.D. 833) are thus related by Masudi, who wrote about a century after the event. On his return from a victorious raid against the Greeks the caliph encamped in the beautiful valley of Bedidun.[2] Like all Orientals, he was susceptible to the charm of clear, running water, and at his orders a rustic pavilion was constructed over the spring called Kochaïrah, from which the river Bedidun flowed. In this the caliph sat. A silver coin was thrown into the spring, and so clear was the water that the legend of the coin beneath its surface could be read. Mamun then noticed in the spring a fish 'a cubit long and shining like an ingot of silver,' which he desired should be caught for him. This was done, but the fish, when brought to the caliph, escaped by a sudden movement into the spring, sprinkling the caliph's breast, neck, and shoulders with cold water as it did so. It was again caught, and the caliph gave orders that it should be cooked. As he did so, he was seized by a shivering fit, and, when the fish was cooked, he was in a high fever and unable to eat it. This was the beginning of the illness which caused his death. Before this took place he had the guides and prisoners called and asked them the significance of the name of the spring Kochaïrah. He was told that it meant 'stretch out thy feet', which he took for an omen of his death. He then asked the Arab name of the country he

[1] Reprinted from *J. H. S.* xlii, 99 ff.

[2] Podandus, the modern Bozanti, two days from Tarsus on the post-road to Eregli.

was in; the reply was 'Rakkah'. As it had been foretold him that he should die at a place thus named, he knew that his hour was come. And he died then and was carried to Tarsus and buried 'on the left-hand side of the Friday mosque'.[1]

As to the local nomenclature in this story two observations may be made. (1) To Masudi and the Arabs the name *Kochaïrah* meant nothing: but the historian says that some held that it was *Bedidun*, and not *Kochaïrah*, that meant 'stretch out thy feet'. We have thus clearly a local Greek derivation of Podandus from *πούς* ('foot') and *τείνω* ('stretch').[2] (2) In *Rakkah* we have probably to do with a corrupt form of the name of the neighbouring Byzantine fortress Herakleia, called by the Arabs Irakla; the resemblance between *Rakka* and *Irakla* is close enough for the purpose of the story.[3]

The story itself is pretty evidently based on a folk-legend turning on the theme of inevitable fate.[4] But what is the point of the elaborate fish episode? It is clear that the fish was a magic fish, otherwise it could not have caused the caliph's death as it did. The only hypothesis which really explains the story is that both spring and fish were sacred, that the caliph sinned by wishing to catch the fish, and persisted in his sin even after his first warning. This hypothesis is backed by

[1] *Les Prairies d'Or*, ed. and tr. Barbier de Meynard, vii, pp. 1–2 and 96–101.

[2] If the pun seems far-fetched, what about *Ἰκόνιον διὰ τὸ ἡκέναι τὸν Περσέα* (Preger, *Script. Orig. Constant.* i, 72)? For punning on local names *cf.* Theoph. Cont. Const. Porph., V, xxv, p. 113 P, A. D. 838 (*cf.* Bury, *J.H.S.* 1909, p. 125), where Omar inquires the local names from Greek captives and derives bad omens from the names. The idea is probably Greek, as in both cases the Moslem comes off badly and the puns are Greek.

[3] An Armenian authority of 1108 (cited by Tomaschek in *Sitzb. Wien. Akad., Phil.-Hist. Cl.* cxxiv, 1891, viii, 66) speaks of a fortress *Krakka* near Kybistra or Herakleia (Kybistra = Eregli).

[4] The lesson seems never to be learnt.

two points. (1) The Greek name of the spring is given as *Aïdareka*, which evidently contains the name of a saint, to whom the spring was held sacred by Christians. (2) A coin was thrown into it,[1] evidently in accordance with the world-wide custom at sacred springs and wells. This incident may be held to prove that the caliph knew from the first that the spring was sacred. One can hardly doubt that the tale came originally from a hostile (Christian) source. Masudi had plenty of opportunity for access to non-Moslem writers and is said not infrequently to have made use of them.

The memory of Mamun seems to have survived at Tarsus, at least among the learned, till the middle of the seventeenth century, when the incidents recorded of his death were located not at Podandus (Bozanti), but quite near Tarsus itself.[2] Of his tomb nothing is recorded after the thirteenth century, when it was still a Moslem pilgrimage, though Cilicia was in Christian hands and the mosque had become a church of SS. Peter and Sophia. This curious fact rests on the authority of Yakut (1225)[3] and Willebrand of Oldenburg (1211).[4] The latter speaks of the tomb as that of the 'sister of Mohammed', which looks as if the identity of its occupant was already becoming vague among the common folk. The church of SS. Peter and Sophia is thought by Langlois[5] to have occupied the site of the present Ulu Jami, a purely Mohammedan building, but this is far from proved.

[1] For this world-wide practice see above, p. 302, n. 5.
[2] Haji Khalfa, tr. Norberg, ii, 360.
[3] Le Strange, *E. Caliphate*, p. 133.
[4] Ed. Leo Allatius, *Σύμμικτα*, i, 137.
[5] *Cilicie*, p. 317. See below, p. 702.

LV

THE THREE UNJUST DEEDS

ACCORDING to the Koran story,[1] when Moses was travelling with the (unnamed) Servant of God, the latter committed three apparently blatant acts of injustice, wantonly sinking a ship, killing a youth, and repairing a wall for a family which had received the travellers inhospitably. Subsequently an explanation was forthcoming: the ship was thus saved from impressment by a king, the youth was an unbeliever and a better son was given to his parents in his stead, while the wall concealed a treasure which belonged to orphans, but would have been secured by the inhospitable man had the wall been allowed to fall into ruins.

A clearly similar tale exists in the Talmud,[2] where Rabbi Jochanan was granted a vision of Elijah, with whom he went on a journey. Being hospitably entertained by a poor man whose only support was a cow, Elijah in the morning killed the cow. A rich man received them badly, yet Elijah at his own expense repaired his house wall for him. A rich synagogue received them badly; in return Elijah wished that they might all become presidents at once. A poor community received them well, but Elijah wished them only one president. The explanation was that the cow was the redemption for the poor man's wife, who had been fated to die that day, repairing the wall had prevented the rich man from finding a hidden treasure when he dug a foundation for the wall, while one president spells harmony, many discord.

It seems hardly possible that there is no connexion

[1] Sale's *Koran*, pp. 222 ff. (ch. xviii).
[2] Polano, *Selections from the Talmud*, pp. 313 ff.

between the two tales and, the Jewish being in the Talmud and therefore probably not later than the second century of our era, we may therefore with some confidence believe the Talmudic tale to be the source of the Koranic. It seems to be a Jewish apophthegm written round the theme of 'Shall not the Judge of all the earth do right?'[1] Jews were fond of such apophthegms; the Biblical story of Job's misfortunes is an obvious instance. Another, concerning David, is found in the Talmud.[2] David once saw a mosquito attacking a spider and an idiot killing both, whereupon he exclaimed at the uselessness of mosquitoes, spiders, and idiots in the scheme of creation. But later, when he cut off Saul's cloak in the cave, he stumbled over Abner, who would have discovered him had a mosquito not diverted Abner's attention by stinging him. Still later, when he himself was hiding in a cave from his enemies, they would have found him if a spider had not spun its web over the entrance of the cave and thus given the impression that the cave was empty. Finally, when he fled to Gath, his only resource was to feign himself mad. Whereby the existence of mosquitoes, spiders, and idiots was justified.[3]

As the story of the Three Unjust Deeds occurs in the Koran and the nameless Servant of God is usually identified with Khidr,[4] it is not surprising to find versions of the tale told in Moslem lands to-day with Khidr as the hero. Hanauer relates[5] an interesting variant current among Palestine Moslems. When Moses and Khidr were making a journey together, Khidr stole

[1] *Gen.* xviii, 25.

[2] Polano, *Selections from the Talmud*, pp. 310 ff. Carmoly, *Itinéraires*, p. 297, gives approximately the same story, dated at latest in the twelfth century and with a wasp instead of a mosquito.

[3] There is probably a more symmetrical prototype somewhere (possibly in the Panchatantra): the idiot is out of place, three *insects* are required.

[4] See above, p. 331.

[5] *Folk-Lore of the Holy Land*, pp. 58 ff.

a washhand basin from a hospitable man, presented it to an inhospitable man, and killed the young nephew of a kind hostess. The reasons were that the hospitable man was too confiding, the inhospitable man was to be made hospitable by finding hospitality profitable, and the boy, had he lived, would have murdered his good aunt.

Very interesting are two versions current among Christians in the Turkish area. The first was collected by Professor Dawkins [1] at Imera, a village near Kromni in the district of Trebizond. There three travellers met a *pallikar*, who joined them. Ill received by an inhospitable village, the *pallikar* rebuilt a ruinous wall in the village. A second village proved inhospitable, and again the *pallikar* repaired a crumbling building, this time a house. Being well received in a third village, the *pallikar* in the night strangled the son of their host. The explanation given by the *pallikar* was that a treasure lay hidden under the falling wall and would have been discovered and thus caused many murders but for his repairing the wall; had the house in the second village fallen, it would have destroyed the neighbouring house, where good people lived; the boy would have grown up wicked, corrupting his father also, so that his death had saved both himself and his father from hell. Then, announcing himself to be the Christ, the *pallikar* vanished from their sight.

The second Christian copy is told in Bulgaria.[2] Here a monk travels with an armed man, who is afterwards found to be S. Michael. The armed man destroys the house of a hospitable cowherd and kills the son of a hospitable rich man, in the former case to reveal to the cowherd a buried treasure and in the second to save the boy from killing his brother. The third *motif* is missing.

[1] The story is so far unpublished, but Professor Dawkins kindly allows me to publish it in advance.

[2] Shishmanova, *Légendes Relig. Bulg.*, pp. 168 ff. It is interesting to find S. Michael the hero in this case, he occurring in the Bible as the executant of the Divine will, especially in the direction of violence.

LVI

GRAVES OF THE ARABS IN ASIA MINOR[1]

AMONG the Mohammedan religious antiquities of Asia Minor the tomb-sanctuaries held to represent the resting-places of Arabs killed during the forays of the eighth and ninth centuries form a well-marked and extremely interesting group. Their authenticity is on general grounds more than doubtful. The campaigns of the Arabs led to no permanent occupation; the lands they had conquered for the moment were restored to Christendom or fell to alien races. Only in the borderlands, where in times of peace Christian and Moslem might meet on equal terms, can we expect a true tradition regarding Arab graves or a continuous veneration of them to have persisted. Of these borderland Moslem cults supposed to date back to the Arab period we can point to two examples, the tomb of the 'sister of Mohammed' at Tarsus and the tomb of Umm Haram in Cyprus.[2]

The former is mentioned by Willebrand of Oldenburg (1211) as still a place of Moslem pilgrimage under the Christian kings of Armenia. It was situated outside the church of S. (Beatus) Peter and S. Sophia in the middle of the town.[3] It seems at least possible that this tomb

[1] This chapter has already appeared in *B.S.A.* xix, 182 ff.

[2] A list of female Arab saints in Palestine is given by Conder, *P.E.F.*, *Q.S.* for 1877, p. 99. The Druses admit women to the ascetic inner brotherhood of *Akal* (Burckhardt, *Syria*, p. 203): the women appreciate the privilege, but for the prosaic reason that it saves them money in rich clothes. In general, female saints in Islam are converted Christian princesses or amazons.

[3] Ed. Leo Allatius, *Σύμμικτα*, i, 137 'In angulo quodam extra foris Ecclesiae sepulta est soror Mahomet; cuius tumbam Saraceni in multo petunt timore et devotione.' For the site of the church in question in the opinion of Langlois see above, p. 698.

was really that of the caliph Mamun, miscalled by the Frankish chronicler. Mamun died in A.D. 833 at Podandus (Bozanti) and was buried at Tarsus, then an important frontier town of the Arabs.[1] I have no information as to the perpetuation or otherwise of this cult down to our own day. For present purposes it is important mainly as showing the possibility of the survival of a Moslem cult in spite of Christian domination.[2]

The tomb of Umm Haram is, owing to Mr. Cobham's researches,[3] better documented. The Arab sources, which he quotes at length, are sufficient to prove that Umm Haram was a historical person, that she died in the course of an Arab expedition to Cyprus, and that she was buried there in A.D. 649. Her tomb seems to have been known at least three centuries later, both to Arab and Christian,[4] but the exact position in the island is not indicated. There follows a significant *lacuna* in the history of the grave till after the conquest of Cyprus by the Turks in 1572.

Haji Khalfa,[5] half-way through the next century, is the first modern authority to mention, but without giving the name of the saint, the present 'tomb of

[1] See above, p. 697.

[2] A modern parallel is the survival of the tomb and cult of the Turkish saint Gul Baba at Buda-Pest (above, p. 551). In our own time the grave of Murad I on Kossovo, now in Serbia, is protected by a special clause in the Treaty of London.

[3] 'The Story of Umm Haram', in *J. R. Asiat. Soc.*, 1897, pp. 81 ff. A beautiful photograph of the *tekke* is reproduced by M. Ohnefalsch-Richter, *Gr. Sitten und Gebräuche auf Cypern*.

[4] Const. Porph., *de Them.* i, 40, and Al Baladuri (d. A.D. 893) cited by Cobham.

[5] Tr. Armain, in Vivien de S. Martin, *Asie Mineure*, ii, 667: '[Memlahah]... il y a en cet endroit un tekieh ou couvent de derviches, dans lequel reposent les reliques d'une sainte dame qui vivait du temps du Prophète.' The earlier Turkish geographer Piri Reis (*c.* 1550, *ap.* Oberhummer, *Cypern*, i, 427) does not mention the tomb in his description of the island.

Umm Haram' on the salt lake near Larnaka, which continues down to our own day to be a frequented Moslem pilgrimage with a well-endowed *tekke*. This is the more significant since the site of the 'tomb' is not out of the beaten track: indeed the salt lake at Larnaka has always been one of the sights visited by travellers.[1] The so-called 'tomb' itself, though now associated with Umm Haram, has been recognized by Cobham as a prehistoric building similar to the chapel of Phaneromene[2] in the same district and the so-called 'tomb' of S. Catherine at Famagusta.[3] All three appear to have been underground prehistoric buildings, not necessarily tombs.

In the case of the tomb of Umm Haram, Mariti (1760–7) records from a Christian source a tradition that its discovery was relatively recent and that its exploitation was due to a dervish. Among Mohammedans generally was current a tradition that the building, originally underground, was, at a date not indicated, laid bare by heavy rains. In this condition it was discovered by shepherds, to whom its nature was revealed by a vision of a lady in white raiment.[4] It thus seems clear that the gap in the history of the tomb cannot be filled, that its cult has not been continuous, and that its authenticity is improbable. The history of other 'discoveries' of Arab tombs makes that of Umm Haram's still more suspect.

Of the reputed Arab tombs in Asia Minor the most

[1] Kootwyck (1619), who describes the salt lake at length, does not mention the tomb (Cobham, *Excerpta Cypria*, p. 191): the earliest foreign notice of it seems to be that of Le Bruyn (1683), *Voyage*, ii, 495, who calls it the tomb of Mina, mother of the Prophet.

[2] Magda Ohnefalsch-Richter, in *Arch. Zeit.* 1881, p. 311: *cf.* Deschamps, *Au Pays d'Aphrodite*, pp. 12 (S. Phaneromene) and 140 (S. Evlavios), both being Phenician monolithic tombs.

[3] Max Ohnefalsch-Richter, in *J.H.S.* iv, 112.

[4] *Travels in Cyprus* (Cobham's translation), p. 184.

important is that of Sidi Battal Ghazi,[1] which lies in a mausoleum (*turbe*) attached to the convent (*tekke*) bearing the name of the hero, six hours south of Eskishehr and on the site of the ancient Nakoleia in Phrygia. The *tekke* was formerly a very important seat of the Bektashi dervishes ; its popular vogue was enhanced by the fact that it lay on the pilgrims' road from Constantinople to Mecca.[2] It is supposed by Ramsay and other authorities to occupy the site of an earlier Christian holy place, but in my opinion on insufficient grounds. The assumption rests partly on inexact archaeological data and partly on the overworked idea that every holy place has always been such. The evidence in favour of the assumption is as follows :

(1) The site is undoubtedly that of the ancient Nakoleia.[3]

(2) Ruins of a Byzantine monastery are said to be incorporated in the buildings of the convent. Radet goes so far as to say that the mosque is a Christian basilica : [4] Ouvré, his companion, is not so sure.[5] Other travellers' descriptions are vague.[6] A recent visitor,

[1] He is the prototype of El Cid, of whose tale there is an early fragment in Arabic (Bouillet, *Dictionnaire*, *s.v. Cid*).

[2] The *tekke* has been visited by many European travellers, see especially Wülzinger, *Drei Bektaschiklöster Phrygiens*, xx, 103. The earliest first-hand account by a western known to me is that of the anonymous author [1663] of the (B.M.) *Add. MS.* 7021 (f. 35). It was known at least by repute to Menavino (*Cose Turchesche* (1548), p. 60). It is interesting to compare the effect of the railway on the pilgrimage of S. Anne d'Auray in Brittany, where pilgrims now come all the year round, with a corresponding diminution in the number of visitors on the day itself (De Quetteville, *Pardon of Guingamp*, p. 472).

[3] Ramsay, in *J.H.S.* iii, 119 ; *cf. Hist. Geog.*, p. 144.

[4] *Arch. des Miss.* vi (1895), p. 446.

[5] *Un Mois en Phrygie*, p. 89.

[6] H. Barth, *Reise*, pp. 88–9 ; Sir C. Wilson, in Murray's *Asia Minor*, p. 144 ; Ramsay, *Pauline Studies*, p. 168 ; A. D. Mordtmann, as below, p. 707, n. 1.

Brandenburg, seems to refute the idea implicitly.[1] Turkish sources attribute the building of the mosque to Suleiman the Magnificent.[2]

(3) Cuinet mentions candlesticks,[3] and Sir Charles Wilson a cup [4] of Christian workmanship, in the *turbe*. Radet calls these Perso-Byzantine : [5] in any case the evidence of such movable furniture is negligible.

(4) The legend of Sidi Battal's marriage with a Christian princess is read by Ramsay [6] as evidence of previous Christian occupation. But it is characteristic of a hero of a chivalric romance—and the cycle of legend which has grown up round the name of Sidi Battal places him in this category—that a maiden on the enemy's side should fall in love with him.[7] The Byzantine borderer, Digenes Akritas, elopes with an *emir's* daughter, and as a Christian hero is compelled on that account to spend some pages in remorse ; [8] a Moslem can without reproach add the lady to his harem.[9] Further, the marriage of a Mohammedan potentate with a Christian was by no means unknown in the days of Ala-ed-din, to which the discovery of the tomb of Sidi Battal is referred.[10]

The Mohammedan traditions of the *tekke* are clear and consistent ; the official version is given in Ethé's

[1] *Byz. Zeit.* xix, 106 : ' in der sog. " Kirche," d. h. dem älteren Teil des Klosters.'

[2] Haji Khalfa, tr. Armain, in Vivien de S. Martin's *Asie Mineure*, ii, 702 : *cf.* ' Jardin des Mosquées ', in Hammer-Hellert, *Hist. Emp. Ott.*, p. 82 (706).

[3] *Turquie d'Asie*, iv, 213. [4] *Loc. cit.* [5] *Loc cit.*, p. 447.

[6] *Pauline Studies*, p. 169, and elsewhere : *cf.* below, p. 709.

[7] For such a case at Phileremo in Rhodes see above, p. 647, n. 2.

[8] Rambaud, *Ét. Byz.*, p. 79.

[9] Sidi Battal had at least two other Christian wives, a daughter of the Emperor and a daughter of his vizir Akrates (probably Akritas himself) ; *cf.* Ethé, *Fahrten des Sajjid Batthal*, i, 99, 100.

[10] The father of Ala-ed-din, for instance, married a Christian woman (Sarre, *Reise*, pp. 39 f.).

Fahrten des Sajjid Batthal[1] as follows: The 'castle of the Messiah' was given by Ala-ed-din, Sultan of Rum (1219–36) to his general Hazarasp. One of the latter's shepherds, named Kodlija, while feeding sheep on the hill opposite the fortress, saw there a miraculous light. He became as if enchanted, and his sheep gathered together to the spot. Hazarasp, being informed of the miracle, built a chapel on the site and it became a pilgrimage. The spot was not connected with Sidi Battal till he himself appeared in a dream to the mother of Ala-ed-din, who was a descendant of the Prophet, and bade her build him a monument at the castle of the Messiah, where he had met his death. The mother of Ala-ed-din went to the castle and made inquiries, and another vision was vouchsafed to her in confirmation of her dream; the earth opened showing a door, through which she passed down a flight of seven steps to find the Arab warrior standing armed before her. The mother of Ala-ed-din built the mausoleum of the newly-discovered saint; the buildings of the site were subsequently added to by the Mihaloglu family[2] and the Ottoman emperor Suleiman the Magnificent.[3] In the latter part of the fifteenth century George of Hungary, who for many years lived, apparently in this part of Asia Minor, as a prisoner of the Turks, testifies to the wide vogue of the cult of Sidi Battal in his day. He says that 'Sedichasi' was held in great esteem and veneration all over Turkey and by Mohammedans in general. His tomb was on the frontier between the Ottomans and Karamania, and, though these frequently

[1] i, 213 ff. This relation does not form part of the romance proper, to which we shall return. Other Turkish sources are quoted by A. D. Mordtmann (*Gelehrte Anzeigen d. bayr. Akad.* 1860, pp. 260–95, and *Φιλολ. Σύλλογος, Παράρτημα τοῦ θ' τόμου*, pp. xiv ff.).

[2] A renegade family established in Bithynia under the early Ottoman sultans.

[3] Probably about 1534, the year of the emperor's visit to the tomb on his way to Bagdad (Hammer-Hellert, *Hist. Emp. Ott.* v, 212).

quarrelled among themselves, none dared approach the tomb or do damage to the adjacent country, since those who had done so always found that the vengeance of the saint followed on their act.[1] Further, it was commonly held that those who asked his aid, especially in war, were never disappointed. Great quantities of money, animals, and other gifts were yearly offered to the saint by the king, the princes, and the common folk. In the sixteenth century the name of Sidi Battal was the war-cry of the Turkish armies.[2]

The convent has lost much of its prosperity since the fall of the Bektashi order under Sultan Mahmud II and the decline of the pilgrim road with the progress of steam navigation. The tombs of Sidi Battal and his Christian wife are still shown in the *turbe*, and that of the pious shepherd Kodlija just outside it. Close by the *tekke* of Sidi Battal stands the tomb of Malik Ghazi,[3] his companion in arms, who fell with him at Akroenos.[4] This tomb is probably to be regarded merely as a pendant to Sidi Battal's.[5] Both, it will be noticed, are on the farther side of the river from Eskishekr and its Byzantine representative;[6] this river may at some

[1] *De Moribus Turcorum* (*c.* 1481), cap. xv (see above, p. 495).

[2] 'Wann sie Krieg fürnemmen, so rüffen vnd schreyen sie zu dem *Sedichassi* dem Heyligen der *Victori* und dess Siegs . . . Soll begraben liegen auff den Grentzen *Othomannorum* und *Caramannorum*' (Breuning, *Orient. Reyss.* (1579), p. 106). The convent was by this time already in the hands of the Bektashi (*cf.* Browne, *J. R. Asiat. Soc.* 1907, p. 568), who were intimately associated with the Janissaries.

[3] Visited by Radet and Fougères in 1886 (see map in *Arch. des Miss.* vi, 1895).

[4] 'With Al Battal was killed Malikh, the son of Shu'aib' (*Kitab Al 'Uyun* (eleventh century), *ap.* Brooks, in *J.H.S.* xviii, 202).

[5] The *tekkes* of *Melik* Ghazi (1) in the Kale Dagh near Sarimsaklik (R. Kiepert's map, section *Kaisarieh*) and (2) at Niksar in Pontus (Evliya, *Travels*, ii, 18, 104; Cumont, *Stud. Pont.* ii, 261) are probably to be connected with the Danishmend prince of that name (1106–13), but the legend current at Niksar suggests contamination with the Arab cycle.

[6] Karaja Hisar, according to Radet (*loc. cit.*, p. 515).

time have formed the frontier between Moslem and Christian.

The story of the miraculous discovery of Sidi Battal's tomb is of course strongly tinged with myth, but there is no reason to doubt that the revelation and establishment of the cult of the saint dates back to Seljuk times. The hero himself was the historical Abd Allah Abu-'l Husain el Antaki, 'el Battal' ('the Valiant') being a title of honour; he is known from contemporary sources, Arab and Byzantine, to have taken part in the Arab raids of the eighth century and to have fallen in battle at Akroenos (Afiun Kara Hisar), many miles south of the *tekke* which bears his name, in A. D. 740. Even if the topographical difficulty could be got over, it is impossible to bridge the gap in the history of the tomb between the battle of Akroenos and the reign of Ala-ed-din, unless we suppose (what is highly improbable) that an inscription was found with the remains. Sidi Battal is comparatively well known from history; his apocryphal adventures, like those of his Byzantine counterpart Digenes Akritas, are numerous and in the canonized version of the romance fill a considerable book.[1] Certain incidents of the romance are widely current; such are the hero's adventures at Maslama's siege of Constantinople (A. D. 717), where he penetrated alone as far as S. Sophia and rode into the building on horseback,[2] his dealings with a Christian nun whom he afterwards married, and his romantic death, caused by a stone thrown as a warning by a Christian princess in love with him, who eventually killed herself from remorse.[3]

[1] For the adventures of Sidi Battal see the authorities cited by Mordtmann (*loc. cit.*) and especially the canonized version of the romance, a Turkish composition of the fourteenth or fifteenth century based on an Arabic original, translated by Ethé (*Fahrten des Sajjid Batthal*).

[2] The historical Sidi Battal appears from the Arab sources (Brooks, *J.H.S.* xix, 26) to have been present at this siege.

[3] It is this princess who is buried beside the hero.

The wide vogue of this popular legend is shown by its connexion with many localities in Asia Minor. Sidi Battal's rock is shown at Mal-tepe near Constantinople,[1] his castles at Erdek [2] and in the Karaja Dagh (Cappadocia),[3] a mosque reputed of his foundation exists at Caesarea,[4] a second tomb at Kirshehr,[5] and a third on the Ali Dagh near Caesarea,[6] while a dome commemorates his birth-place at Malatia.[7] Opposite Constantinople he is connected with Kadi Keui (by the verbal identification of *Kadi* and *Ghazi*),[8] and one version of the legend of the Maiden's Tower makes Sidi Battal the cause of its construction : the Greek governor destined it—of course in vain—to shelter his daughter and his treasure from the redoubtable Arab leader.[9] The Kirk Kiz Dagh (*Mountain of the Forty Virgins*), near the *tekke* of Sidi Battal, is probably associated with the episode of the Convent of the Forty Princesses in the romance.[10] On Argaeus Sidi Battal was imprisoned in a well, whence he made his escape by the assistance of a great snake.[11]

A similar cycle of popular tradition groups itself round the name of Husain Ghazi. The centre seems to be Alaja in Paphlagonia, called by Haji Khalfa [12] Hus-

[1] Oberhummer in Meyer's *Konstantinopel*, p. 332.

[2] Hamilton, *Asia Minor*, ii, 99.

[3] Ramsay and Bell, *Thousand and One Churches*, p. 435.

[4] Haji Khalfa, tr. Armain, p. 676; *cf.* Le Strange, *E. Caliphate*, p. 146.

[5] Le Strange, *op. cit.*, p. 152, n. 2; *cf.* Cuinet, *Turquie d'Asie*, i, 332.

[6] Skene, *Anadol*, p. 146.

[7] Haji Khalfa, p. 660. So Digenes has at least three tombs, near Trebizond, in Crete, and in Karpathos, and other memorials in Cyprus and Crete (Polites, Παραδόσεις, nos. 73, 74, 118–22, 131), while the historical Christian conqueror of Crete from the Arabs, Sarandapechys, multiplies to such an extent that his name becomes a generic word for a giant. For other multiplications of tombs see above, pp. 298 ff.

[8] Evliya, I, ii, 78.

[9] Evliya, I, ii, 78.

[10] Ethé, *op. cit.* i, 89 ff.

[11] Hamilton, *Asia Minor*, ii, 275.

[12] Tr. Armain, p. 678.

ainabad, which remains the official name of the Alaja *nahiyeh*[1]. Husain Ghazi, brother of the *serasker* of Malatia, says the local legend, had his head cut off in an attack on Angora and carried it to a mountain an hour and a half east of the town where he died. The spot was commemorated by a *tekke* which was a much-frequented pilgrimage in the seventeenth century.[2]

Husain's death was avenged by his son Jafer, who took from the Christians a castle near Kirshehr and converted the governor Shamas after a single combat.[3] The name of the latter is commemorated in that of the Shamaspur *tekke* at Alaja, which contains another reputed grave of Husain.[4] Jafer is probably the hero buried at the *tekke* near Tulumbunar (on the Kasaba line) which bears his name.[5]

Another Arab warrior certainly historical is Abd-el-Wahab, whose tomb is venerated at Sivas.[6] He is said by the Arab chroniclers to have been killed 'in the land of the Romans' in A.D. 730–1.[7]

Nearly all these persons are commemorated in the romance of Sidi Battal. Husain is the father of Battal,[8] Jafer is Battal himself before he received his title,[9] and Abd-el-Wahab is constantly mentioned.[10] In the romance, however, the fighting centres round Amorium

[1] Murray's *Asia Minor*, p. 31; Cuinet, i, 298.

[2] Evliya, ii, 228; there is now a *turbe* only, administered by the Bairami dervishes of Angora (Perrot and Guillaume, *Explor. de la Galatie*, i, 283).

[3] Ainsworth, *Travels*, i, 157; *cf.* Barth, *Reise*, pp. 74, 78. Schumas (*sic*) figures in the romance (Ethé, *loc. cit.* i, 21) as a monk converted by Battal, Schamasp as the brother of the governor of Amorium killed by him (*ibid.* i, 27). *Shamas* is the Arabic for *deacon*.

[4] See above, p. 95.

[5] F. W. H. (*cf.* above, p. 103). [6] Cuinet, *Turquie d'Asie*, i, 666.

[7] *Kitab al 'Uyun*, *ap.* Brooks, in *J.H.S.* xviii, 200: the death of Abd-el-Wahab is placed under the next year by Al Tabari (d. 923, *ibid.*).

[8] Ethé, *op. cit.* i, 7. [9] *Ibid.* i, 57; *cf.* Evliya, I, i, 27.

[10] Ethé, i, 37, &c.

(Hergan Kale), which was historically a notable Byzantine fortress during the Arab wars, but, having been razed by the Arabs after the great siege of 838, disappeared at that date from history. Its site, like that of Akroenos, has only recently been identified, and by westerns: the reputed Arab tombs, as we have seen, are nowhere near it. But the later Arab writers seem to have been misled by the similarity of the two names in Arabic into identifying Amorium with Angora,[1] which accounts for their placing the tomb of Husain Ghazi at the latter town, while the romance makes Amorium the scene of his death.[2]

Other Arab memorials in Asia Minor, not apparently connected with the Battal cycle, are mentioned by Ibn Batuta at Daonas[3] (*vilayet* of Aidin) and at Sinope,[4] the former a memorial of the birth-place of Suhayb, a Companion of the Prophet, the latter a tomb of Bilal the Ethiopian. Another tomb of Bilal, presumably if not authentic at least earlier than that at Sinope, is shown at Damascus.[5]

Earliest of all the Arab memorials in Asia Minor and also apparently not connected with the Battal cycle, is the tomb of 'Amru'l Kais', which is mentioned as shown at Angora by the early thirteenth-century geographer, Yakut.[6] He was an Arab chief, contemporary with the Prophet, and author of some poems which are still highly esteemed. He is the hero of a romantic story in many points obviously fantastic. He is said to have gone to Constantinople to seek help from the emperor against the slayers of his father. According to Yakut, 'the king's daughter fell in love with him,

[1] Le Strange, *E. Caliphate*, p. 153. [2] Ethé, *op. cit.* i, 11.

[3] Tr. Sanguinetti, ii, 277. *Cf.* Evliya, ii, 38. His tomb was at Sivas (Evliya, I, ii, 113).

[4] Tr. Sanguinetti, ii, 349.

[5] Le Strange, *Palestine*, p. 272; Porter, *Damascus*, p. 17.

[6] *Ap.* Brooks, in *J.H.S.* xxi, 76.

and when Caesar heard of this, he promised that the armies should follow him when he reached Syria or he would order the armies in Syria to support him. And when he reached Ancyra he sent him some poisoned garments, and when he put them on, his flesh fell off, and he knew that he would die.' [1]

The *Life* of Amru'l Kais gives some details concerning his death at Ancyra. While he was suffering from the effects of the poisoned robe sent him by the emperor, he saw at the foot of a mountain named Assib or Gezib 'the grave of a princess who had died in that city' and apostrophized it in verse; 'immediately after he died and was buried beside this woman and his tomb is still there.' [2]

One is inclined to suspect that the journey of Amru'l Kais to the Byzantine court is a detail borrowed from or confused with the similar journey of his namesake (?) 'Amorkesos' in 473,[3] in spite of the discrepancy in date. The details about Angora must come from some one who knew the place. The princess's tomb is evidently the 'column of Julian', called to this day *Kiz Minaret*, 'parce qu'ils s'imaginent qu'élle soutenoit le Tombeau d'une fille'.[4] We shall probably not be far wrong if we assume that the supposed tomb of Amru'l Kais was the other remarkable ancient monument of Ancyra, *i.e.* the Augusteum. Later, this tradition seems to have been lost: an undated inscription, found by Perrot and Guillaume over the arch of a small building inside the Augusteum and removed by their expedition, gives the name of Mohammed Ibn Bekr and a verse of the

[1] Yakut, i, 391 (kindly translated for me by Mr. Brooks).

[2] *Vie d'Amrolkais*, tr. Slane, p. 27; *cf.* Rückert, *Amrilkais*, p. 130.

[3] Malchus, frag. 1, in *F.H.G.* iv, 121; Bury, *Later Roman Empire*, i, 231 f.

[4] Tournefort, *Voyage*, letter xxi. The Turks have a similar idea about the column of Marcian at Constantinople (see above, p. 197, n. 1). The princess at Angora seems now identified with Belkis, queen of Sheba (Barth, *Reise*, p. 79). See further, below, p. 749.

Koran.[1] Mohammed Ibn Bekr was a partisan of Ali who revolted against the caliph Osman in Egypt ;[2] this connexion is perhaps due to the adjacent (Bairami) dervishes to whom the Augusteum belongs.

It appears from the foregoing that the graves and memorials of the Arabs in Asia Minor, though they commemorate in many cases historical persons and the great historical fact of the Arab wars, and indicate also in a vague way the area over which these wars were fought, are almost certainly all fictitious. So far as we can see, the traditional sites have been discovered by 'revelation' and identified by an uncritical use of written sources or merely by floating tradition.[3] They thus afford no independent topographical evidence for the Arab campaigns. It is further to be remarked that Ibn Batuta's notice of two Arab memorials already in the early fourteenth century shows that such memorials were sought for and identified in this way already in the Seljuk period. Earliest of all is the tomb of Amru'l Kais, and, if we may believe the traditional account, the tomb of Sidi Ghazi was discovered at the same period. The motive for the 'discovery' of such tombs is consciously or subconsciously political. At the back of the mind of the conquering race lies the idea of substantiating a prior claim to the conquered soil.[4] The tomb of Eyyub, the great *Ghazi* of the Arab siege of Constantinople, was said to have been revealed actually during the siege of 1453.[5] Mohammed II, having laid siege to

[1] xvii, 20 ; see Perrot and Guillaume, *Explor. de la Galatie*, i, 299.

[2] Weil, *Gesch. d. Chalifen*, i, 173 ff.

[3] The beginnings of a Battal myth were recognized in our own times by Barth (*Reise*, pp. 52–3) between Yuzgat and Caesarea, where an historical person of the reign of Murad IV (1623–40), bearing the title of Battal, was already becoming confused with the legendary hero.

[4] A *real* burial gives a similar claim. It was not without such an intention that the caliph Mamun was buried in the frontier town of Tarsus (Le Strange, *E. Caliphate*, pp. 132–3) : see above, p. 703.

[5] Hammer-Hellert, *Hist. Emp. Ott.* ii, 395 (who aptly compares the

Constantinople, was, with his seventy attendant saints, seven whole days searching for the tomb. At last Ak-Shems-ed-Din exclaimed, 'Good news, my Prince, of Eyyub's tomb,' and, thus saying, he began to pray and then fell asleep. Some interpreted this sleep as a veil cast by shame over his ignorance of the tomb; but after some time he raised his head, his eyes became bloodshot, the sweat ran from his forehead, and he said to the Sultan, 'Eyyub's tomb is on the very spot where I spread the carpet for prayer'. Upon this, three of his attendants, together with the Sheikh and Sultan, began to dig up the ground, when at the depth of three yards they found a square stone of verd antique, on which was written in Cufic letters, 'This is the tomb of Eba Eyyub'. They lifted up the stone, and found below it the body of Eyyub wrapped up in a saffron-coloured shroud, with a brazen play-ball in his hand fresh and well preserved. They replaced the stone, formed a little mound of the earth they had dug up, and laid the foundation of the mausoleum amidst the prayers of the whole army. A shepherd who fed his sheep near the site of the present mosque noticed that in the height of summer a round plot of grass there was always fresh and green. The sheep did not touch it and made obeisance to it. The shepherd reported this to the Ulema, who, after long prayers, decided that it was the grave of Eyyub and his companions. This was not generally accepted and the people asked as a sign that a foot should

finding of the Sacred Lance by the Crusaders before Antioch): *cf.* Evliya, I, ii, 35. The occurrence is not mentioned, however, by any contemporary authority for the siege (Mordtmann, *Belagerung*, p. 111) and probably took place shortly after. (So Cantimir, i, 106; d'Ohsson, *Tableau*, i, 305.) A modern version of the story is told by S. Adamson in *Harper's Magazine* (June 1913, pp. 30 ff.), in which, as in the case of the tombs of Umm Haram and Sidi Battal, the first discovery of the sanctity of the site is attributed to shepherds. An illuminating example of such a 'discovery' is given by Pouqueville, *Hist. Régénér. Grèce*, ii, 386.

show itself above the supposed grave.[1] Which, after prayer had been made, taking place, all were convinced that Eyyub was really buried there.[2]

Similarly, at the siege of Bagdad under Suleiman (1534), where religious animosities might be used to spur on the soldiers, the tomb of the orthodox (Sunni) doctor Abu Hanifa was 'discovered' under the walls of the heretic (Shia) town.[3] The discoverer in the case of the tomb of Eyyub (and probably in all such discoveries) was a pious sheikh: if we bear in mind the extraordinary influence of dreams and their interpretation in the eastern world it is obvious that the good faith of a devout and pious mystic need not be called in question. But, as we have seen from the cases of Umm Haram, Sidi Battal, and Eyyub, the fully-developed type of legend postulates two agents in such discoveries, the shepherd,[4] to whom the sanctity of the spot is revealed by an outward miracle, and the wise man, who is guided by a dream to interpret it according to his learning. The sequence is psychologically true. To the simple and devout peasant any chance combination of circumstances may give a religious colour to a commonplace discovery, and anything remotely resembling a tomb presupposes a buried saint.[5] It remains for the learned to give the saint a name and a historical setting.

[1] For this barbarous miracle see above, pp. 252–5.

[2] *Précis* of Carnoy and Nicolaides, *Folklore de Constantinople*, pp. 155 f.

[3] Hammer-Hellert, *Hist. Emp. Ott.* v, 222.

[4] In the West also the shepherd 'discovers' (Sébillot, *Folk-Lore de France*, iii, 122).

[5] *Cf.* above, p. 61, and 4.

LVII

THE MOSQUES OF THE ARABS IN CONSTANTINOPLE [1]

Introductory

TWO mosques in Galata—the Mosque of the Arabs (*Arab Jami*) and the Mosque of the Leaded Store (*Kurshunlu Maghzen Jamisi*)—lay claim to be the earliest buildings consecrated to Moslem worship in Constantinople. Both are supposed to date from the period of the Arab sieges, many centuries before the Ottoman conquest. Their traditional claim to this honourable pedigree is of some antiquity. Evliya Efendi, in the middle of the seventeenth century, already attributes an Arab origin to four buildings in Galata, of which two are the mosques in question and the others a lead-roofed granary (*Kurshunlu Maghzen*), still used as such in his time,[2] and the famous Galata Tower.[3] All these, and in addition the Rose Mosque (*Gul Jami*) in Stambul,[4] are supposed to have been built during the famous siege of Constantinople by the Arabs under Maslama.

The Tower of Galata and the Rose Mosque being undoubtedly Christian buildings, the historical accuracy of Evliya's information may reasonably be called in question as to the other reputed Arab buildings of Constantinople. In the case of Arab Jami, the better known of the two Galata mosques, its Arab origin is, if

[1] Reprinted from *B.S.A.* xxii, 157 ff.

[2] *Travels*, I, ii, 167. [3] *Ibid.* I, ii, 49.

[4] *Ibid.* I, i, 24. Evliya states that the Rose Mosque, having become a church, was turned over to the Moslems as the price of Bayezid I's retirement from Constantinople. Bayezid made a demand of this sort in 1391, but it was not complied with (Ducas, p. 49 B). For the real history of the mosque (S. Theodosia) see van Millingen's *Churches in Constantinople*, pp. 162 ff. See also above, p. 40.

not asserted, at least considered as a possibility by several serious writers, but sufficient information has come down to us to allow the elements of history and tradition to be disentangled.

§ 1. Arab Jami and its Traditions

The 'Mosque of the Arabs' stands on low ground not far from the shore of the Golden Horn between the inner and outer bridges. Its remarkable minaret, in reality a church tower with a short wooden spire, was, till it was recently obscured by buildings, a familiar object to every one crossing the outer bridge from Stambul to Galata. The history of the building can be traced into the Genoese period, when, as Evliya admits,[1] it was a Christian church. Under the Genoese it belonged to the Dominican Order and was dedicated to S. Paul.[2] In plan it is a simple rectangle divided by three rows of columns into a wide nave and three aisles, of which two are on the north side. These are covered with a wooden roof. The line of the nave is continued by a short vaulted chancel flanked by lower compartments carrying on the line of the aisles. At the south-eastern corner the plain, square tower alluded to a few lines above still serves as the minaret of the mosque. Beneath it, opening by a typically Gothic archway,[3] runs a vaulted passage. In the west wall of this is built a doorway more Byzantine than Gothic in general character, decorated in the spandrels with scutcheons bearing rampant lions. This doorway originally communicated with the eastern continuation of the south aisle. Further traces of the use of the building as a Latin church are afforded in the interior by remains of

[1] *Travels*, I, ii, 51.

[2] Belin, *Histoire de la Latinité de Constantinople*, pp. 215 ff. The church of S. Paul is mentioned about 1400 by Clavijo (Hakluyt Soc. edn., p. 49).

[3] See *B. S. A.* xxii, pl. v.

frescoed saints on the west wall, portions of a marble tessellated pavement in the nave, and a large number of flooring slabs with Latin inscriptions and Genoese coats-of-arms,[1] discovered in the course of recent repairs.[2] The structure as a whole is of brick and rubble, but has been much repaired ; the south-west corner is finished as a clustered column in brick.

The orthodox Moslem version of the mosque's history is given by the eighteenth-century author of the *Jardin des Mosquées* [3] as follows :

'Arab Jami was built by Maslama, an *emir* of the Ommeyad House. The rhymed history of the foundation of the mosque hangs in the interior. . . . It is said to have been founded in the sixty-sixth year of the Hejira (A. D. 685–6) under the caliph Abd-el-Malik by his captain Maslama at the siege (the poem says *conquest*) of Constantinople. Maslama was recalled by the caliph Omar II ; this is why the mosque fell into ruins and was only rebuilt by Sultan Mohammed III (1595–1603).'

In confirmation of the legendary foundation of Arab Jami an ebony cup, supposed to be that of Maslama himself, was till recently kept in the mosque : the water of the mosque well was drunk from this cup with beneficial results by expectant and nursing mothers.[4]

When we come to examine this tradition, we find, first, that the date given (A. D. 685–6) is not that of the siege of Constantinople by the Arabs under Maslama (which took place in A. D. 717–18), though it comes reasonably near the date of the first Arab siege (A. D. 672–7). There is no record of a mosque having been

[1] Two, bearing dates 1323 (Belgrano, in *Atti Soc. Lig.* xiii, p. 322 (3)) and 1433 (Hasluck, in *B.S.A.* xi, 54), had been recorded earlier.

[2] These had been hidden under the wooden floor, but were known to exist in the sixties (De Launay, cited in *Atti Soc. Lig.* xiii, 273).

[3] In Hammer-Hellert, *Hist. Emp. Ott.* xviii, 71. Evliya (*Travels*, I, i, 25 ; I, ii, 49, 51) says it was built by the caliph Omar Abdul-Aziz during the fifth siege, which he dates A. H. 92.

[4] D'Ohsson, *Tableau*, i, 285 ; Scarlatos Byzantios, *Κωνσταντινούπολις*, ii, 46–7 : *cf.* above, p. 266.

built by the invading Arabs during either siege.[1] During that of Maslama the Arabs never entered the Golden Horn, so that it is impossible that a mosque should have been built in Galata, which was in all probability already a fortified suburb ; if a mosque had been built at all it would have been either outside the land walls or on the Asiatic side of the Bosporus, where the besieging troops had their head-quarters.[2]

It is true that a small mosque (*mesjid*) existed at Constantinople as early as the tenth century, but this was in the Praetorium, which was near the Forum of Constantine in the city proper. The building of this mosque is attributed by Constantine Porphyrogenitus to the reign of Michael III Balbus, who, he says, erected it as a favour to Maslama.[3] This is, of course, a confusion ; the siege of Maslama (in the reign of Leo the Isaurian) resulted in the complete discomfiture of the Arabs, and their leader was in no position to ask favours from the Emperor. The mosque in the Praetorium probably dated from the Saracen embassy of A. D. 860, which, owing to political circumstances, obtained favourable terms.[4] This mosque seems to have lasted down to the Latin conquest of Constantinople in 1204.[5] In the succeeding centuries there is no trace of its existence. It is particularly significant that the Mohammedan travellers El Harawi and Ibn Batuta, who visited Constantinople in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries respectively, mention no Mussulman house of prayer in the city.[6]

[1] For the Arab accounts see Brooks, in *J.H.S.* xviii, xix.

[2] See the account of the siege and the disposition of the Arab forces in Bury's *Later Roman Empire*, ii, 402 ff.

[3] *De Adm. Imp.* xxi (p. 101 B).

[4] Bury, *Roman Empire*, p. 279.

[5] See the passages cited by Du Cange, *Constant. Christ.* ii (p. 164 P), cap. xv.

[6] Ibn Batuta, tr. Lee, p. 83, n.

§ 2. Superstition and Politics at Constantinople, 1570–1610

The date of the 'discovery' of Arab Jami, *i.e.* its transformation from a church, is probably little earlier than the end of the sixteenth century. This period was characterized by considerable anti-Christian feeling among the Turks, the origins of which must be sought partly in internal, partly in external conditions. All latent tendencies to superstition were stirred by the approaching millennium of the Hejira (1592–3); this afforded an easy text to the dervish prophets and saints, who have at all times exerted a considerable influence on the masses. Rauwolff, speaking of this period (1575), says:

'They have (as some of them have told me) a peculiar Book, . . . wherein is briefly Written, what shall happen to them every year, whether it be good or bad. This beginneth in the same Year, with their Prophet *Mahomet*, and continueth for 1000 Year, when this is at an End, they have nothing more of that Nature worth any thing. And being they go no further, some will deduce or conclude from thence, that their Reign will soon have an end, when those years are passed.[1] Wherefore they fear the *Christians* very much, and confess themselves, that they expect to suffer a great blow from the *Christians*. And this one may see or conclude from hence, for on their Holidays in the Morning about 9 of the Clock they shut up the Gates of their Towns, great Champs,[2] and other Publick Habitations, as I found at *Aleppo*, so that many times I could not get either out or in until they opened them again, for they fear at that time to be Assassinated by the *Christians*.'[3]

[1] The idea is much older; *cf.* Schiltberger's *Travels*, ed. Telfer, p. 66 (*c.* 1400).

[2] The author probably wrote *Chans*, the ordinary Turkish for *caravanserai*.

[3] In Ray's *Voyages*, i, 311: *cf.* Shaw's *Travels to Barbary*, p. 246. The fear of Christian attack during Friday prayers was not without reason; there was an unsuccessful plot for the surprise and recapture

Prophecies of this sort had begun to circulate already in the first half of the century. That of the 'Red Apple' is at least as early as 1545, probably a good deal earlier.[1] The well-known prophecy foretelling the downfall of the Turks, which was supposed to have been inscribed on the tomb of Constantine and to have been interpreted by the patriarch Gennadius, was current at Constantinople in the seventies of the same century.[2] In such circumstances omens are never wanting. Miraculous appearances of fiery crosses are reported in Constantinople about the time of Lepanto,[3] and in 1591 an outbreak of plague gave further confirmation to popular fears.[4] All these indications of nervousness among the Turks go far to explain the ascendancy of the dervishes and of superstition at the period in question. To necromancers, soothsayers, and astrologers the common people looked for counter-charms against the vaguely impending disaster, and the ruling classes, if they did not believe, found it politic to be conciliatory. The sultan himself (Murad III, 1574–95) was notoriously superstitious.[5] It is not without significance that the venerated mosque of Eyyub was rebuilt in the year 1000

of Rhodes at this hour in 1525 (Torr, *Rhodes*, p. 33 : *cf.* further below, p. 752). George Borrow, in the thirties, found the same tradition and practice current at Tangier (*Bible in Spain*, p. 332). The same idea occurs also in a Greek folk-story from Trebizond (Polites, *Παραδόσεις*, no. 22).

[1] See below, p. 736.

[2] Gerlach, *Tage-Buch*, p. 102. This is the prophecy of the 'Yellow Race' for which see above, p. 471, n. 4.

[3] These appearances are pictured and described by the Venetian cartographer Camotti.

[4] Hammer-Hellert, *Hist. Emp. Ott.* vii, 244. The extreme susceptibility of the Turks to interpret extraordinary events in the most gloomy sense is illustrated by their apprehensions when the Bosporus froze in 1669: they were 'so frightned that they look'd upon it as a dismal Prodigy, *and concluded that the world would be at an end that year*' (T. Smith, in Ray's *Voyages*, ii, 46).

[5] Hammer-Hellert, *Hist. Emp. Ott.* vii, 282.

of the Hejira,[1] or that the Bektashi dervishes owed their official connexion with the Janissaries to the same period.[2]

External events also boded ill for the success of Moslem arms, and public feeling tended in an anti-Christian, and particularly anti-Catholic, direction. The signal victory of the combined fleet of the Catholic powers at Lepanto in 1571, following the repulse before Malta in 1566, raised the apprehensions of the Turks as much as the hopes of Christian Europe. For many years after these events the diplomacy of the Catholic powers was severely handicapped at the Porte.[3] Of all the Catholic powers Spain was the most detested, not only for the prominent part she had played at Lepanto, but also for her treatment of the Moors. A treaty was denied her in 1578,[4] and a full century later Sir Dudley North writes: 'The Spaniards neither have nor ever had an ambassador at the Porte; which perhaps may be derived from their hatred to all Mahometans for the sake of the Moors.'[5] The hatred was certainly reciprocated and, at Constantinople especially, kept alive by fugitive Spanish Moors settled there.

The final expulsion of the Moors from Spain did not

[1] *Jardin des Mosquées*, in Hammer-Hellert, *Hist. Emp. Ott.* xviii, p. 57.

[2] D'Ohsson, *Tableau*, iii, 325.

[3] This phase of affairs was made good use of by the rising Protestant powers, England and Holland. The first English treaty with the Porte was made in 1581, an embassy being established next year. The Dutch Capitulations date from 1610. Elizabeth certainly made capital out of the distinction between 'Protestant' England and 'idolatrous' Spain (see Pears, in *Eng. Hist. Rev.* 1893, pp. 439 ff.), and James followed her precedent. He is said to have styled himself to the Porte 'Verus fidei contra omnes idolatras falso Christi nomen profitentes [!] . . . propugnator' (*Ambassade de J. de Gontaut-Biron*, p. 36).

[4] Hammer-Hellert, *op. cit.* vii, 51.

[5] *Lives of the Norths*, ii, 134. *C.* 1617 della Valle records a persecution of Jesuits at Constantinople on account of their alleged treasonable correspondence with Spain and the Pope (*Voyages*, ii, 252 ff).

take place till 1610,[1] but there was a serious rebellion in 1570,[2] and shortly after this date we find Spanish Moors flocking to Constantinople.[3] In the middle of the next century Evliya says that 'the Inhabitants of the interior castle [of Galata, *i.e.* the central compartment of the Genoese walled town] have in their hands a *khatti-sherif* of Sultan Mohammed II, by which they are allowed to suffer no Infidel among them. . . . These inhabitants are for the greatest part Moors, who were driven out of Spain and settled at Galata.'[4] We may probably assume that the name of Mohammed II is a slip or perversion for that of Mohammed III (1595–1603), the rebuilder of the church-mosque of the Arabs. The exclusion of 'infidels' from the central part of Galata may have been made to appear a political necessity at a time when the Turks were nervous of Christian plots.

The Moorish refugees of Galata were, naturally enough, fanatical against the Christians, hardly less so against the Jews. It is precisely in the years between 1570 and 1610 that we hear of a series of aggressions against Catholic churches,[5] causing in some cases their

[1] Knolles, *Turkish History*, p. 899, where the decree of expulsion is given.

[2] Hammer-Hellert, *Hist. Emp. Ott.* vii, 51.

[3] In 1578 a Constantinople letter (Charrière, *Négociations dans le Levant*, iii, 787) mentions a complaint preferred by 'dix ou douze Mores de Granate, habitans icy . . .' The rush began later: *cf. Relaz. di M. Zane* in Alberi, III, iii, 390 (1594): 'di Spagna concorrono ogni giorno mori in Constantinopoli, che si nominano *mondesari*, come se uscissero solamente di Granata, ma in effetto tutta la Spagna n'e contaminata, e subito giunti levano il tolpante' (*i.e.* avow themselves Moslems); *cf.* also the same *Relazione*, p. 440. Later still (1608–10) the French embassy espoused the cause of the Moors fleeing from Spain through Marseilles, though official efforts on their behalf were not always successful; *cf. Ambassade de J. de Gontaut-Biron, Table Analytique*, p. 443, and Index, *s.v.* 'Grenadins'.

[4] *Travels*, I, ii, 51; *cf. ibid.*, p. 53, 'a great number of them are Arabs and Mogrebins'.

[5] Especially against those of the Dominican order according to J. Seville, in *Notre Dame*, 1914, p. 120.

transformation into mosques. In 1591 it was proposed to treat the church of the Holy Sepulchre at Jerusalem in this way.[1] In the following year S. Anna at Galata was threatened,[2] and probably about the same period S. Anthony and S. Paul were actually taken.[3] Tournefort distinctly states that the latter was confiscated to serve as a mosque for Grenadine Moors.[4] This is the obvious interpretation of its present name. The Orthodox, perhaps suspected of a *rapprochement* with the Catholics, owing to the intrigues of the Jesuits, suffered hardly less. To Murad III's reign (1574–95) is dated the seizure of the church of Pammakaristos (*Fethiyeh Jamisi*),[5] till then the Patriarch's cathedral, and of a church of S. John the Baptist.[6]

The hostility shown by the Moors to the Constantinople Jews is less easy to account for. It probably dated from the days when both races were subject to Spain. The Jews, expelled in 1492, had flocked, like the Moors a hundred years later, to Constantinople, and throughout the following century were influential in Turkey as physicians, diplomatists, and tax-farmers. Their importance ends suddenly with the close of the

[1] Hammer-Hellert, *Hist. Emp. Ott.* vii, 287. [2] *Ibid.*

[3] T. Smith in Ray's *Voyages*, ii, p. 40: '*St. Paul* and *St. Anthony* were both taken away some years since from the Christians, and turned into Moschs. The former of which is now known by the name of *Arab Giamesi*, or the Mosch of the *Arabians*.' An earlier notice of the seizure of S. Paul is given by Du Loir (*Voyages* (1654), p. 66); Comidas (*Descr. di Costant.* 1794, p. 59) seems certainly wrong in assigning the seizure to the reign of Suleiman (1520–66), when the Moors, to whom he attributes it, were not yet fled out of Spain. But the Christians may have been dispossessed earlier. S. Paul's is not mentioned among the Latin churches of Galata by Breuning, (1579, *Orient. Reyss*, p. 89). See Seville, in *Notre Dame*, 1914, p. 119.

[4] *Voyage*, Letter XII. 'La Mosquée des Arabes fut confisquée sur les Dominicains, il y a environ 100 ans, pour servir aux Mohamétans Granadins.'

[5] Hammer-Hellert, *Hist. Emp. Ott.* vii, 232: the *Jardin des Mosquées* gives the date 1591. [6] *Constantiniade*, p. 108.

sixteenth century.[1] One cause seems certainly the influx of the Moors, who despise and hate the Jews far more than do the Turks. The refugees at Constantinople, finding the Jews no longer their equals in servitude, but their inferiors as non-Mussulmans in a Mussulman country, and their superiors in wealth and standing, satisfied their prejudices and avenged their Spanish wrongs on the hated race. This feeling seems to have risen to its height in 1612, when the Moors resident in Galata, supported by the Kadi, who was one of them, drove out the Jews and destroyed their synagogues.[2] But for French diplomatic action, the Catholic Church of S. Francis would have shared the fate of the synagogues.[3]

The usurpation of the church now called the Mosque of the Arabs thus falls chronologically in the middle of a long period of anti-Catholic feeling, instigated by superstitious fears at home and Catholic successes abroad, and fomented by the Moorish refugees from Spain. The supposed pre-Turkish traditions of the mosque rest on no more than a fanciful interpretation of its name, which originally denoted the population for whose use it was appropriated.

§ 3. Kurshunlu Maghzen Jamisi

Like the Mosque of the Arabs, the Mosque of the Leaded Store or Underground Mosque (*Yer Alti Jami*) claims to date from the Arab siege of Constantinople under Maslama, when it served as a mosque for the Faithful. According to popular legend the Arab leader at his departure, knowing that some Moslems had been buried in it, obtained leave from the Greeks to seal up

[1] But their connexion with medicine and the University of Salamanca lasted far into the next century (T. Smith, in Ray's *Voyages*, ii, 59).

[2] Knolles, *Turk. Hist.*, p. 917.

[3] *Ibid.* and des Hayes, *Voiage*, p. 125.

the key-hole with lead (*kurshun*) to prevent the desecration of their graves.[1] This elaborate story is devised to explain the name of the mosque, really derived from its proximity to the lead-roofed granary mentioned above.

The Underground Mosque is situated near the quays just outside the new bridge and immediately behind the Port Office. As its name implies, its floor-level lies somewhat lower than the level of the street, and the building, being low and badly lighted, has the appearance of a large cellar. The plan is a simple rectangle divided into a series of square compartments by quadrangular piers of masonry supporting a series of vaults.[2] The building is, to judge by the position of the *mihrab*, fairly correctly orientated.

The building seems to have been identified by the discovery in it of alleged Arab tombs, now attributed to saints named Amiri, Wahabi (left of entrance), and Sufian or Abu Sufian (right of entrance). The latter tomb is the most important of the group and occupies a separate compartment within a grille ; it is evidently associated with Sufian, one of the Arab warriors who took part in the first Arab siege (672–7) by Moawiya.[3] It is frequented as a pilgrimage by Turkish and Armenian, occasionally by Greek, women. For a small fee the guardian lays on the tomb a new garment or handkerchief, which, having remained there forty days, is an infallible love-charm, if worn by the man it is desired to attract. Women desirous of children wear round their waists a handkerchief which has been consecrated in a similar way.[4]

[1] Meyer's *Konstantinopel*, p. 253 : *cf.* Grosvenor, *Constantinople*, ii, 698.

[2] According to the *Jardin des Mosquées* (p. 73) the mosque measures 62 × 1 paces and has forty-two vaults.

[3] Brooks, in *J.H.S.* xviii, 186 ; Bury, *Later Roman Empire*, ii, 311. Abu Sufian was the title of the caliph Moawiya.

[4] For this procedure see above, p. 266.

The ' discovery ' of the tombs and mosque is attributed by von Hammer, on the authority of the *Jardin des Mosquées*, to a pious Nakshbandi sheikh, who had had revealed to him the site of the Prophet's father's tomb at Medina in the middle of the eighteenth century ; the funds for the building were contributed by the vizir, Mustafa Pasha, who was himself a member of the Nakshbandi Order.[1] But the mosque and its tombs are mentioned at least a century earlier by Evliya,[2] so that the eighteenth century could have been responsible only for a reconstruction, as indeed the *Jardin des Mosquées* states. The original discovery cannot be placed later than the death of Murad IV (1640), since Evliya tells us that the emperor ' intended finishing the mosque, but could not accomplish it '.[3] We may perhaps attribute the first ' discovery ' of this so-called Arab mosque to the same period and combination of circumstances as were responsible for that of *Arab Jami*. In this case there is nothing to indicate that the building ever served as a church ; its numerous vaulted aisles may have suggested a mosque to Moors familiar with the early many-columned Arab type of mosque found at Cordova and elsewhere, or the whole may have been built in recent times after the discovery of the ' Arab tombs '. The tradition of the pre-Turkish mosque is, in any case, to be regarded as no more than a patriotic fable resting solely on the religious credulity of the masses, stimulated by the dreams and revelations of holy men.

By similar methods numerous churches in the capital which were transformed into mosques by the Turks have acquired a spurious sanctity by the discovery in them of ' Arab ' saints' graves ; in some cases, like that of Sufian in Galata, these have been associated with

[1] Hammer-Hellert, *Hist. Emp. Ott.* xv, 261 : *cf. Jardin des Mosquées* (*ibid.* xviii, 73).

[2] *Travels*, I, i, 24.

[3] *Ibid.* I, ii, 167.

more or less historical personages.[1] In S. Andrew of Crete (*Khoja Mustafa Pasha Jamisi*), for example, are shown the graves of the daughters of Husain, who, says tradition, having been captured by the Greeks, killed themselves rather than marry unbelievers ;[2] many *dedes* or saints' graves independent of mosques have similar traditions.[3] A curious example is Baba Jafer, the saint of the galley-slaves' prison, who was identified with an ambassador of Harun-al-Rashid.[4]

In a previous chapter[5] I have attempted to indicate the process by which such identifications are arrived at. The existence of a holy-place or the grave of a saint is inferred from accidental circumstances, such as the discovery of a sarcophagus or of human remains, especially an undecayed corpse,[6] the appearance of a miraculous light, or the fall of a wall,[7] with or without coincidences connecting these accidental circumstances with dreams or with the 'luck' of individuals or communities. The name and history of the saint discovered depend on the lucubrations of learned mystics. The cult is perpetuated by the faith or credulity of the superstitious, often assisted by interested persons.

In the case of the 'Mosque of the Arabs' the rational explanation of the name was easily forgotten, and the romantic substituted under these influences. The 'type and tradition' of Arab saint once evolved—and this happened early both in Asia Minor and at Constantinople[8]—the name 'Arab' is sufficient to determine

[1] See the *Jardin des Mosquées* (18th c.) in Hammer-Hellert, *op. cit.* xviii, pp. 18 (185, *Hasan Husain Mesjidi*), 33 (333, *Kahriyeh Jami*), 35 (349, *Khoja Mustafa Jamisi*).

[2] See above, p. 17.

[3] See especially Evliya, *Travels*, I, ii, 15.

[4] *Ibid.* I, i, 26.

[5] Pp. 250 ff.

[6] For a Moslem saint of this sort discovered in 1845 near Larnaka, see Ross, *Reisen nach Kos*, &c., p. 198.

[7] Prof. White, in *Trans. Vict. Inst.* xxxix, 155.

[8] *Cf.* above, p. 714.

the period and setting of the saint or building involved. At Rhodes, for instance, the tower actually built by the Grand Master de Naillac about 1400, being called Arab's Tower (*Arab Kulesi*), is referred to the conquest of Rhodes by the Saracens under Moawiya.[1]

§ 4. The 'Arab' in Folk-lore and Hagiology

The current conception of an 'Arab' saint includes two ideas, that of the Arab proper, a compatriot of the Prophet and champion of the Faith, and that of the negro,[2] which is implied by the popular connotation of the word 'Arab' in Turkish. Fusion is rendered easy by the facts (1) that the negroes with whom the Turks are in habitual contact, coming from or through North Africa, are Arabic speakers, and (2) that certain races, notably the Sudanese, are characterized by magnificent physique and reckless courage in war; there is no reason to doubt that the gigantic negro Hasan who distinguished himself at the siege of Constantinople was a historical and characteristic figure.[3] In historical folk-lore, consequently, it is not surprising to find the heroes of traditional Moslem exploits frequently represented as 'Arabs'.

[1] Biliotti and Cottret, *Rhodes*, p. 501. The name *Arab Kulesi* is at least as old as Beaufort (*Piloting Directions for Mediterranean*, 1831, p. 300), whose survey took place in 1811. The Moawiya tradition I cannot find before Biliotti.

[2] It is interesting in this connexion to read Fabri, *Evagat.* ii, 512, where he says 'reperimus idolum in forma pueri Aethiopis in caverna petrae stantem, cui Arabes interdum pro tempore oblationes afferunt'.

[3] In the less reputable field of brigandage the recent exploits of certain redoubtable 'Arabs' are still locally remembered (*cf.* Georgeakis and Pineau, *Folk-Lore de Lesbos*, p. 323; E. Deschamps in *Tour du Monde*, 1897, p. 185 (Cyprus, an historical negro brigand 'thirty or forty years ago': *cf.* his *Au Pays d'Aphrodite*, p. 95)). Dutemple, *En Turquie d'Asie*, p. 51, says the Kara Mustafa Hammam at Brusa was so named from a real negro.

Philippopolis, for example, is said to have been taken by the besieging Turks owing to the discovery and destruction of the subterranean aqueducts which supplied it with water; the discoverer was an 'Arab'.[1] Beside the apocryphal grave of Constantine Palaiologos at Vefa Meidan (Constantinople) is shown the equally apocryphal tomb of his slayer; the slayer was an 'Arab'.[2] Similarly, the Moslem champion slain by the Bulgarian hero, Bolen Doïtsi, at Salonica was an 'Arab'.[3] But by far the commonest *role* of the 'Arab', not only in the folk-lore of Turkey, but in that of the Balkans,[4] is that of the terrifying spectre or *jinn*. The 'Arab' *jinn*, reflecting the fidelity of his earthly counterpart, the negro slave, generally figures as a guardian, especially of treasure,[5]

[1] Tsoukalas, *Περιγραφὴ Φιλιππουπόλεως*, p. 27.

[2] Polites, *Παραδόσεις*, ii, 677.

[3] Gougouzes in *Λαογραφία*, i, 690. The tomb of Emir in the cemetery Turbet Birket Mamilla is supposed to be that of a gigantic negro who fought against the Christians (Hanauer, *Folk-Lore of the Holy Land*, p. 83).

[4] For the 'Arab' in Turkish folk-stories, see Kunos, *Türkische Volksmärchen aus Stambul*, preface, p. xviii; for the Greek area, where he is generally called *Ἀράπης* (*Μῶρος* in the Ionian Islands, *Σαρακηνός* in Crete), see Polites, *Νεο-ελλ. Μυθολογία*, pp. 133, 145 ff., and *Παραδόσεις*, nos. 419 ff., with the learned note on 419; also Carnoy and Nicolaides, *Folklore de Constantinople*, p. 149. The 'Arab' appears early in Greek folk-lore as the *famulus* of a sorcerer; see anecdote of Photius in Bury's *Later Roman Empire*, p. 445. A man, wishful to terrify his neighbours, blacked his face so as to look like a negro; they took him for a were-wolf (Dozon, *Contes Alban.*, p. 166: *cf.* the fear of a negro ghost in van Lennep, *Travels in Asia Minor*, i, 191). In the voyage of Sindbad an immense and terrifying negro is encountered (Lane, *Thousand and One Nights*, p. 277). In the West evil spirits and devils are commonly conceived of as negroes: *cf.* Migne, *Dict. des Apocryphes*, ii, 78, 862, and de Voragine, *Légende Dorée*, pp. 107, 601.

[5] Polites, *Παραδόσεις*, nos. 419–45 inclusive; Pashley, *Crete*, ii, 39; Cockerell, *Travels*, p. 151; St. Clair and Brophy, *Residence in Bulgaria*, p. 55; W. Turner, *Tour in the Levant*, iii, 512; Perrot, *L'île de Crète*, pp. 103 ff. *Cf.* Lane, *Thousand and One Nights*, p. 339.

but also of buildings[1] and wells.[2] In connexion with haunted buildings and treasure (which are very often combined, a haunted building being assumed to be haunted by the guardian of treasure concealed in it) the conception of an 'Arab' guardian is based on (1) the regular use in the East of black slaves as confidential servants,[3] and (2) the common folk-lore practice of immolating a victim at the commencement of a building in order that his spirit may establish the structure.[4] In the case of treasure the victim may be the confidential servant: his immolation then secures both secrecy as to the whereabouts of the treasure and a ghostly guardian for its future protection.[5] In Greek

[1] Polites, *op. cit.*, nos. 455–62; *cf.* Hobhouse, *Albania*, i, 529 (haunted houses); Palgrave, *Ulysses*, p. 59 (haunted bath). In Egypt a 'talisman' which prevented the silting up of a branch of the Nile in the eighteenth century took the form of a negro with a broom (Lucas, *Voyage fait en 1714*, i, 339). The English are said to have stolen this broom (Niya Salima, *Harems d'Égypte*, p. 330).

[2] Polites, *op. cit.*, no. 433 (=Leo Allatius, *De Graec. opin.*, p. 166), and references given in the note (p. 1108); Lawson, *Modern Greek Folk-lore*, p. 276; Niebuhr, *Voyage en Arabie* (en Suisse, 1780), ii, 301 (*magrébins* are good at finding treasure); Palmer, *Desert of the Exodus*, pp. 142, 172; Thomson, *Land and the Book*, p. 135.

[3] This is strongly brought out by the Turkish folk-stories (Kunos, *loc. cit.*).

[4] The well-known *Bridge of Arta* story affords a good illustration (Polites, *Παραδόσεις*, no. 169, note, and nos. 481–3 incl.; also in *Νεο-ελλ Μυθ.* p. 139; Sainéan, in *Rev. Hist. Rel.* xlv, 359 ff.). The story occurs all over the Balkan area and as far east as Kurdistan (M. Sykes, *Dar-ul-Islam*, p. 160). In the version given by Dozon, *Contes Alban.*, p. 256, and localized at Dibra, the immured mother suckled her child, but as soon as the child grew up, water flowed instead of milk from her breast. This suggests that the suckling *motif* was originated by the sweating of lime from the mortar of new buildings. See further Hasluck, *Letters*, pp. 124, 195.

[5] For the immolation of a human victim with this object (*στοιχειώνω*) see Polites, *Παραδόσεις*, no. 424 with the note, and no. 483. The ghost guardian must be appeased with blood by the finders of the treasure (*ibid.*, no 404).

folk-lore the 'Arab' is occasionally a female apparition;[1] I can as yet find no instance of this on the Turkish side.[2]

The conception of Arab *jinns* who guard mysterious buildings, especially castles, or treasures, or both, is partly answerable for the recurring use of *Arab* in Turkish geographical nomenclature. *Arab Hisar* ('Castle of the Arab'), the ancient Alabanda, *Arab Kulesi* ('Arab's Tower') at Rhodes,[3] *Arab Euren* ('Ruins of the Arab'),[4] and possibly Arabkir are examples. Above the last-named town is a mountain called indifferently *Arab Baba* and *Kara Baba*,[5] presumably after a saint (*baba*) or *dede* worshipped on its summit. In this case certainly *Arab Baba* and *Kara Baba* are identified, so that *Kara* (*black*) is here a synonym for *Arab*. It therefore follows that the numerous Turkish cults directed to *Kara Baba*[6] may be associated with 'Arab' saints and place-names like *Kara Euren* ('Black Ruin') and even *Kara Hisar* ('Black Castle') may be similarly associated[7] with 'guardian-Arab' *jinns*.

If these 'Arab' *jinns* prove by experience to be placable they may easily attain to a cult. This is probably

[1] *e.g.* the guardian of the treasure at the Roman baths called after her 'Αράπισσα at Sparta (Wace, in *B.S.A.* xii, 407) and the ghost 'Αραπατζέλλα of the Kamares cave in Crete (Halliday, in *Folk-Lore*, xxiv, 359).

[2] The porphyry head built into the castle of Rumeli Hisar is said to be that of an Arab woman petrified for mocking the workmen (Grosvenor, *Constantinople*, i, 168), but this is hardly a parallel.

[3] Above, p. 730.

[4] With this compare *Dev Euren*, 'Ruin of the *Ogre*', another figure familiar to folk-tale (not 'Ruin of the Camel', as Von Diest, *Tilsit nach Angora*, p. 52, n. 4).

[5] Ainsworth, *Travels*, ii, 5, 6.

[6] *e.g.* in the fortress commanding the bridge at Chalkis, and at Athens (Dodwell, *Tour*, i, 305 : *cf.* Kambouroglous, Ἱστορία, iii, 125).

[7] Ramsay (*Pauline Studies*, p. 182) comments on the fact that ancient sites frequently bear names compounded with *kara*, none with *siah*, though both words mean 'black', from which he infers that the word implies awe or mystery. The difference between *kara* and *siah* is primarily one of language, *kara* being vernacular Turkish, *siah* Persian.

the history of the *S. Arab* of Larnaka,[1] the *Arab zade* of the Seven Towers at Constantinople,[2] of *Arab Oglu*, a saint in Pontus,[3] and the *Sheikh Arab Sultan* of Dineir [4] who, if our theory be correct, are in effect promoted from *jinns* or demons to *dedes* or saints. Similarly, a white marble statue at a fountain in Candia, which has acquired not only a Moslem cult but a cycle of legend, is, in spite of its material, conceived of as a petrified 'Arab'.[5] In the case of *Arab Oglu*, who is worshipped on an ancient site near Kavak, we may surmise that the cult arose from the apprehensions of some superstitious treasure-seeker, the 'Arab' saint being no more than the guardian of the treasure always supposed to exist on ancient sites. This affords a more easy explanation than the 'survival' theory of the tendency remarked by Ramsay [6] of Moslem cults to exist in such places. Such figures as *Arab Oglu* might in favourable circumstances develop still further into saints boasting a name and even a place in history.

For the Christians the development of the 'Arab' figure from *jinn* to saint is less easy, since his very name brands him as a Moslem, ecclesiastical and artistic traditions connect him with the Devil,[7] and he is probably inextricably mixed with the 'bogey' of childhood. In spite of these disabilities the development may take place. We have the precedent of the S. Barbaros of the monastery of Iveron on Athos, an 'Arab' raider who struck the image of the Virgin of the Gate (*Πορταΐτισσα*), was converted by a miracle, and became a monk and eventually a saint.[8] In some such way, probably, was converted the 'S. Arab' of Larnaka,[9] who is now wor-

1 Mariti, *Travels in Cyprus*, tr. Cobham, p. 41. 2 F. W. H.
3 White, in *Records of the Past*, vi, 101. 4 G. Weber, *Dinair, passim*.
5 Above, p. 188, n. 1. 6 *Pauline Studies*, p. 182.
7 On this point see Polites, *Παραδόσεις*, no. 419, note.
8 Above, p. 88, n. 1.
9 Mariti, *Travels in Cyprus*, tr. Cobham, p. 41.

shipped by Christians under the decorous name of S. Therapon.[1] Of this sanctuary Mariti writes in the eighteenth century as follows: 'To the north-west of Larnaca, a few paces outside the town, there is a small mosque called by the Moslem "Arab" and by the Greeks "S. Arab"; both sects hold it in great veneration, the one deeming it dedicated to one of their Dervishes, the other to some Saint. The Turks respect the mosque, or rather little chapel, which they say was built by the said Arab, and the Greeks devoutly visit the sepulcre, a subterranean grotto in which they hold that for many years lay the body of their supposed holy hermit.'[2]

This 'S. Arab' is now worshipped by Moslems as 'Turabi' and by Christians as 'S. Therapon'.[3] Turabi is the name of a fifteenth-century dervish who was noted for his liberal views as to religions outside Islam.[4] Therapon is a saint and healer well known in Cyprus, but not specially connected with Larnaka.[5] The ambiguous saint possibly developed first from the nameless 'Arab' (*Ἀράπης*) to Turabi, the genitive *τοῦ Ἀράπη* (*sc.* *ὁ τεκκές, ἡ σπηλιά*) possibly aiding the transition. From Turabi, by way of the form Tharape,[6] to Therapon is easy. It seems at least fairly clear that we have here a case of an 'Arab' cave-*jinn* who has managed to secure a footing in both religions.[7]

[1] Hackett, *Church of Cyprus*, p. 421. For a similar alleged conversion of a Moslem saint to Christianity, see Schiltberger (ed. Telfer, p. 40).

[2] *Travels*, ed. Cobham, p. 41.

[3] Hackett, *Church of Cyprus*, p. 421; Lukach and Jardine, *Hdbk. of Cyprus* (1913), p. 47.

[4] Von Hammer, *Osman. Dichtkunst*, i, 214; a Kadri convent named *Turabi Tekke* exists at Constantinople (Brown, *Dervishes*, p. 317).

[5] For his legend see Delehaye, in *Anal. Bolland.* xxvi, 247 ff.

[6] Mas Latrie, *Trésor de Chronologie*, p. 911.

[7] See also above, pp. 87 f.

LVIII

THE PROPHECY OF THE RED APPLE [1]

THE famous Turkish prophecy of the 'Red Apple' comes to us first in 1545, when it was published by Georgewicz, a Hungarian, for many years prisoner among the Turks,[2] in (transliterated) Turkish with a Latin translation and a commentary. The following is an English rendering of the text:

'Our Emperor shall come, he shall take the realm of the Gentiles (Kiafir), he shall take the Red Apple and capture it: if unto the seventh year the sword of the Unbeliever (Giaur) shall not come forth, he shall have lordship over them unto twelve years: he shall build houses, plant vineyards, hedge gardens about, and beget children; after twelve years from the time that he hath captured the Red Apple, the sword of the Infidel shall come forth and put the Turk to flight.'

Our anonymous prophet knew his craft and provided, like the Delphian Apollo, for all contingencies. His first line of defence is, as has been already pointed out,[3] the interpretation of the word 'year', which in such utterances allows of some latitude. Further, the central episode, the taking of the 'Red Apple' (*Kizil Elma*), on which the rest of the prophecy depends, is obscure, and suggests many lines of thought.

The general symbolism of the 'Red Apple' is certainly *world dominion*. At Constantinople, long before the Turkish conquest, the 'apple' or orb held by the statue of Justinian which stood on a column before

[1] Reprinted from *B.S.A.* xxii, 171 ff.

[2] *Prognoma sive praesagium Mehemetanorum*, dated, by the introductory letter, 1545. The prophecy is also published in the Turkish collections of Lonicerus.

[3] *Das Ausland* (Munich), 1828, no. 93, p. 372. It will be noted further that 'seven' and 'twelve' are mystic numbers.

S. Sophia was regarded as a talisman or 'luck' of the empire. This 'apple', Mandeville tells us, 'betokens the lordship which Justinian had over all the world': in the fourteenth century it had fallen down, which was 'a token that the emperor hath lost a great part of his lands and lordships'.[1] The conquest of Constantinople and of Justinian's empire might thus be symbolized by the taking of the 'Red Apple'. But the interpretation of a prophecy current nearly a century after the fall of Constantinople obviously could not rest on this alone, and the mysterious 'Red Apple' was identified with several of the successive goals of Ottoman arms, in particular Constantinople (probably retrospectively) and Rome, which the Turks aimed at or even threatened in the first half of the sixteenth century. Turkish opinion in Georgewicz's day held that the 'Red Apple' symbolized 'some strong and well-fortified imperial city',[2] but as to its identity opinion was divided. Some said Constantinople was meant, others Rome: the latter interpretation in the end became generally accepted, despite the fact that Rome was never taken by the Turks. Both these interpretations of the 'Red Apple' are indicated by the gloss (current already in Georgewicz's time) *Vrum papai*, which might be translated, according to fancy, 'the pope (*i.e.* patriarch) of the Greeks' (*Rum*, *Ῥωμαῖοι*) or 'the pope of the Romans' of Rome. As we shall see, both interpretations were harmonized by seventeenth-century expositors.

The interpretation current among the Turks of the

[1] Ed. Wright, p. 130: *cf.* Procopius, *de Aedif.*, i, 2; *cf.* Schiltberger, *Travels*, ed. Telfer, p. 80 and note, and for Mandeville's sources, Bovenschen in *Z. f. Erdk.*, 1888, p. 211.

[2] 'Kizil Elma dicunt esse urbem aliquam fortissimam et munitissimam imperialem' (Georgewicz's commentary), whence doubtless the anonymous writer in *Ausland* draws the erroneous inference that 'Red Apple' was a synonym for *any* strong city.

seventeenth century, which sought to identify the Byzantine and the Roman 'Red Apple', is given by Evliya Efendi. In S. Sophia's long ago was an image of the Virgin holding in her hand a carbuncle as big as a pigeon's egg, by the blaze of which the building was lighted every night. This carbuncle was removed on the birth-night of the Prophet to *Kizil Elma* (Rome), which received its name 'Red Apple' from thence.[1] There is no attempt to explain the connexion of carbuncles with 'red apples'. A carbuncle is, of course, a garnet (ML. *Lapis granatus*, Fr. *Grenat*), so called from the likeness of its colour to that of a pomegranate.

Of 'red apple' as a paraphrase either for 'carbuncle' or pomegranate—the ordinary Turkish word for the latter is the Persian *nar*—I can find no distinct indication:[2] but we shall detect later hints of the connexion.[3] Modern Turkish tradition identifies the 'Red Apple' of Rome with the gilded dome of S. Peter's, which is said to be visible from the sea.[4]

Evliya quite inconsistently continues, evidently draw-

[1] *Travels*, I, i, 57. A Russian pilgrim (Khitrovo, *Itin. Russes*, p. 91) notices in S. Sophia a statue of Leo the Wise which had this property. For other stories of carbuncles that lighted buildings see C. W. King, *Natural History of Precious Stones*, p. 239.

[2] There may be a play on this in a Turkish couplet quoted by Gibb (*Ottoman Poetry*, iv, 25).

[3] 'Red Apple' for pomegranate has an exact verbal parallel in the Latin name (*Malum Punicum*) of the same fruit. The Arabic for pomegranate is *rumman*, which gives a distinct point if the 'Red Apple' means *Rome*. Round Granada the wood of pomegranates is called 'soto de roma' (Bradshaw's *Spain*, p. 48). For the curiosity of the subject I note here that there is a mountain called *Kizil Elma Dagh* ('Red Apple Mountain') in the Troad: the name is not derived from the colour of the mountain, possibly from its shape (as apparently its ancient name *Κότυλος*, 'wine-cup'). Other *Kizil Elma* mountains are shown in R. Kiepert's map above Bartin in Paphlagonia and near Kestelek on the Rhyndacus.

[4] Gibb, *Ottoman Poetry*, iv, 25, note. The globe on the dome is probably meant.

ing upon an independent tradition: 'The Spanish infidels were once or twice masters of Islambol [Constantinople], and thence that egg [*i.e.* the carbuncle] came into their hands.' [1] He thus implies that the 'Red Apple' was, according to one version, in Spain. After what we have said elsewhere [2] as to the emigration of Spanish Moors to Constantinople about the end of the sixteenth century, it is hard to resist the suggestion that here again we have stumbled across the equation 'Red Apple' = Carbuncle = Pomegranate, the 'Red Apple' in this case symbolizing the long-lost Moslem kingdom of *Granada*. Though the derivation of the name of Granada from its abundance of pomegranates is not universally accepted by philologists, it is so far the received popular etymology that the pomegranate figures in the arms of the city; and the modern surname *Nar*, which occurs among the Spanish Jews of Turkey, is surely a translation of the name Granada, implying the same identification.

The prophecy of the 'Red Apple' was thus applied to two, if not three, cities. A later edition of Georgewicz's *Praesagium* connects it, giving no reason, with a fourth, Buda-Pest; so far as we can see, this is merely an arbitrary application of a prophecy to a city which was long the goal of Turkish arms and eventually (1526) fell to them. Certain it is that in 1538, *twelve years after the taking of Buda*, portents were seen in the sky at Constantinople foretelling the imminent ruin of the Turks by the Christians.[3] Were these interpreted in the light of the prophecy of the Red Apple, backed by the recent Christian victories of Andrea Doria?

Another possible claimant is the city of Rhodes, taken in 1522, after an unsuccessful siege in 1480. Already in the early fifteenth century was current a derivation of the name of Rhodes, not from ῥόδον (rose),

[1] *Loc. cit.* [2] Above, p. 723.

[3] *Avisi di Costantinopoli*, Venice, 1538.

but from ῥοῖδι (pomegranate), on the ground that the city was as full of men as a pomegranate of seeds.[1] We have already remarked on the obscure connexion which seems to exist between the 'Red Apple' and the pomegranate. If Rhodes were taken as the 'Red Apple' of the prophecy, the destruction of the Turkish power by the Christians would be due to occur in 1534. It may be significant that superstitious Turks, arguing from omens, augured ill of the chances of a Turkish army which marched into Hungary in that year.[2]

[1] Buondelmonti, *Liber Insularum* (1420), ed. de Sinner, p. 72.

[2] Schepper, *Missions Diplomatiques*, p. 136. In this year the marble lion of the Bucoleon was said to have turned its head away from Europe and towards Asia. Such stories are rather the effect than the cause of superstitious fears.

LIX

THE MAIDEN'S CASTLE

Introductory

'MAIDEN'S TOWER', 'Maiden's Castle', 'Maiden's Palace'[1] are in Turkey among the commonest popular names for ruins whose history is long since forgotten. On the Greek side of the Aegean 'Castles of the Fair One'[2] are no less numerous. The present chapter is an attempt to examine and classify the folk-stories current regarding the various 'Maiden's Castles' in the Greco-Turkish area, which will be found, as might be expected, to be variations of a comparatively small number of *motifs*, some of which have achieved a very wide vogue through their adoption by popular literature. The broad division is into 'strategic' and 'romantic' themes; both of these have many variants, which, we shall find, will lead us to include in the general category of 'Maiden's Castles' certain ruins bearing names apparently irrelevant to our inquiry. The setting of the stories ranges from the fairy-story pure and simple, where the figures are nameless types and magic

[1] Kiz Kulasi, Kiz Kalesi (or Kiz Hisar), Kiz Serai: a 'palace' in my experience generally has columns, *cf.* Choisy, *Asie Mineure*, p. 134 (temple of Aizani). Outside Turkey 'Maiden's Castles' are cited from Transcaucasia (Gulbenkian, *Transcaucasie*, p. 210: *cf.* Koechlin Schwartz, *Touriste au Caucase*, p. 161), from the Crimea and from Persia (from Kerman in Hume Griffith, *Behind the Veil in Persia*, p. 32; and P. M. Sykes, *Ten Thousand Miles in Persia*, p. 190). The name does not appear to be common in the Arab-speaking area but is recorded at Jaber in North Mesopotamia by Cahun (*Excursions sur les Bords de l'Euphrate*, p. 188): *cf.* the 'Maiden's Mount' mentioned by Palmer, *Desert of the Exodus*, p. 91, and by Stanley, *Sinai*, pp. 29 f.

[2] *Κάστρο τῆς Ὡραιᾶς*: *cf. e.g.* Buchon, *Grèce Continentale*, pp. 373, 397. The 'Fair One' is of course the 'Beauty of the World' of the Turkish folk-tales.

machinery is freely employed, to the pseudo-historical, in which the heroine at least is provided with a name and approximate date.

§ 1. *'Strategic' Legends*

The usual role of the Maiden in the 'strategic' type of story is that of the Amazon defender. The conception of the woman-warrior is common to all nations [1] and backed by historical examples. In the folk-tales the 'Maiden's Castle' is usually taken despite the valiant efforts of the heroine, who, to avoid capture, throws herself from the castle-walls and is killed.[2] Another *motif* very dear to Greek folk-tale and song is that of the youthful janissary who, disguised as a woman with child, takes advantage of the humanity of the maiden defender of the castle, who is often a princess, in order to secure an entrance, and is of course followed by his concealed comrades in arms.[3]

A link between the 'romantic' and 'strategic' types is formed by the legends which represent the maiden inside the castle as in love with one of the attacking army; the denouement turns on her treachery. A love

[1] Even in Turkish folk-lore the figure of the girl-*ghazi* is not uncommon: see an example in *Wiss. Mitth. Bosnien*, i, 479 (cited by Bjelokosič): *cf.* Bordeaux, *Bosnie Populaire*, p. 174. One of the seven warrior saints (ἑπτὰ ἐβλιάδες) buried in the moat at Candia is reputed to have been a woman (F. W. H.). *Cf.* Lane, *Mod. Egyptians*, ii, 137, 141.

[2] Polites, *Παραδόσεις*, nos. 86, 87, gives texts of such stories from Thessaly (*cf.* Chirol, *Twixt Greek and Turk*, p. 118) and Alaja Kale in Pontus, with references to all parts of the Greek world. A Georgian version is cited by Palgrave (*Ulysses*, p. 76). At the ruined castle of Kilgra in Bulgaria is shown the place where forty maidens threw themselves headlong to avoid capture by their conquerors (Jireček in *Arch. Epigr. Mitth.* x (1886), p. 189). *Cf.* the story in Miller, *Latins of the Levant*, p. 38.

[3] Polites, *op. cit.*, no. 88 (Kynouria): Chaviaras in *Λαογραφία*, ii, 572–4 (songs from Symi, Nisyros, Castellorizo). The theme has entered into the common stock of Greek minstrels.

affair between a Christian and a Moslem, the lady being usually converted to her husband's religion, is a natural theme in the chivalric-romantic folk-literature of the Near East.[1] The lady either warns her lover of danger or suggests to him the stratagem which leads to the fall of the fortress.

As an example of the first, the 'romantic', type we may quote the tragic loves of Sidi Battal and the Christian princess. The scene is the Christian 'Castle of the Messiah', besieged by the Arab armies with Sidi Battal at their head. Within the walls is a Christian princess enamoured of the Arab captain. Hearing of a plot against her beloved, she drops a stone from the wall to give him warning. The stone falls on him and kills him; the heroine destroys herself from remorse and is eventually buried by his side.[2] Of the second, the 'strategic', type a good example is the Rhodian legend of the castle of Phileremo. In it a Rhodian knight besieging the place succeeds in obtaining an entrance by disguising himself in the skin of an animal, this not very brilliant stratagem being suggested by his Greek mistress within the walls.[3]

What may be regarded as the converse of this stratagem, because it involves the disguise of animals as men, is familiar from the well-known ruse of Hannibal. The besiegers of a castle suggest a retreat by driving off by night a herd of goats with lights attached to their horns; the beleaguered garrison, thrown off its guard, opens the gates and the besiegers, ambushed outside, easily

[1] *Cf.* especially the tale told at Mecca of the captive Moslem and the Christian princess: see above, p. 73. On the Christian side the elopement of Digenes Akritas with an *emir's* daughter (Rambaud, *Ét. Byz.*, p. 79) is a case in point.

[2] Ethé, *Fahrten des Sajjid Batthal*, ii, 234 ff.: the site of the 'Castle of the Messiah' is presumably to be sought near the reputed tomb of the hero south of Eskishehr in Asia Minor, for which see above, pp. 705–10.

[3] Above, p. 647, n. 2

force an entrance. This is related on the Greek side of the capture of Serfije [Servia] in Macedonia and Nicomedia by the Turks,[1] and on the Turkish side of the numerous ruins called 'Goat Castle' (Kechi Kalesi).[2] One of these at least bears the alternative name of 'Maiden's Castle',[3] from which we may suspect the interweaving of a 'romantic' *motif*.

§ 2. '*Romantic*' *Legends*

The chief varieties of the 'romantic' type of legend, in which the heroine is normally a princess, are:

(*a*) the immured princess,
(*b*) the bewitched maiden, and
(*c*) the princess and the rival lovers.

(*a*) The immured princess *motif*, familiar from the stories of Danae, S. Barbara, and Rapunzel, is especially associated with isolated castles or towers. Typical are the so-called 'Tower of Leander' (in Turkish 'Kiz Kulasi' = 'Maiden's Tower') at Constantinople, which is surrounded by water, and the similarly situated tower at Korykos in Cilicia. Of 'Leander's Tower' two distinct stories are told, both with a pseudo-historical setting. In the first the daughter of the Greek governor of Skutari is immured with her father's treasure in the tower in order to preserve both from the Arab hero, Sidi Battal.[4] The story coming from a Mohammedan source, it is hardly necessary to add that the precaution is taken in vain. The second story is more typical. It

[1] Polites, *Παραδόσεις*, nos. 17, 18.

[2] *e.g.* near Yuzgat (Hamilton, *Asia Minor*, i, 387), near Bicher on the Angora line (von Diest and Anton, *Neue Forschungen*, p. 27), and near Smyrna (Cochran, *Pen and Pencil*, p. 232). The two latter alone give the story. The French call a castle outside Sidon the 'Château des Chèvres' (Goujon, *Terre Sainte*, p. 54). Niebuhr (*Reisebeschreibung*, iii, 142) tells the story of an unnamed Anatolian castle.

[3] The ruin near Smyrna (Texier, *Asie Mineure*, ii, 278).

[4] Evliya Efendi, *Travels*, I, ii, 78.

represents the immured maiden as the daughter of a Turkish sultan, of whom a dervish prophesied that she would die at fourteen. The tower was built to defeat the prophecy by affording the princess during the dangerous period a refuge whence chances of accidental death were so far as possible eliminated. Fate cannot, however, be thus cheated, and the doomed girl died from the bite of a scorpion brought her in a basket of fruit. A more elaborate version of the same story, told at great length by Castellan, makes the heroine a daughter of Selim II and interweaves a romantic *motif* and wins to a happy ending on Sleeping Beauty lines, the introduction of her lover causing the dead princess to revive.[1]

At Korykos,[2] where the Greeks of the Sporades localize their folk-songs and legends of ' Beauty's Castle ', there are well-preserved remains of a medieval fortress on the shore and an isolated tower on an adjacent island. Of the mainland castle is told the story of the disguised janissary.[3] Both castles are also represented as elaborate precautions to save from her fate a king's daughter, whose early death by the bite of a snake was foretold to her father. The snake is eventually introduced in a basket of figs, sent to the princess, according to one version, by her lover.[4]

[1] J. Reid, *Turkey and the Turks*, p. 298 : *cf.* Tollot, *Voyage*, p. 320 ; Castellan, *Lettres sur la Morée*, pp. 190 ff. Melek Hanum (*Trente Ans dans les Harems d'Orient*, p. 2) tells the story, but the only point is the inevitability of fate. Régla (*Turquie Officielle*, p. 296) has the story complete. An entirely different story of Leander's Tower, in which a treasure *motif* is prominent, is given by Carnoy and Nicolaides, *Folklore de Constantinople*, pp. 41 ff.

[2] For Korykos see Beaufort, *Karamania*, pp. 240 ff. ; Langlois, *Cilicie*, pp. 211 ff. ; Cuinet, *Turquie d'Asie*, ii, 74.

[3] Chaviaras in *Λαογραφία*, ii, 572–4.

[4] *Ibid.* 557 f. Some similar legend appears to be told of the ruins of Pompeiopolis near Mersina : these are said to be the work of a Jew named Hakmun, who built a castle near by for his daughter Hind (Barker, *Lares and Penates*, p. 131).

(*b*) The 'bewitched princess' *motif* is associated with remote and lonely castles and is frankly magical. At Kos the heroine is the daughter of Hippocrates, bewitched by Diana into the form of a frightful dragon. Any one who was brave enough to kiss her on the lips might turn her back into human form and win the reward of her hand and the lordship of the island.[1] A somewhat similar story, evidently lacking in some particulars, is related by Schiltberger of an enchanted princess in a castle near Kerasund; the narrator tells the story quite simply and evidently believed it. Indeed he was minded to explore the castle himself, had he not been dissuaded by equally credulous Greek priests, who told him that the Devil was in it. His words are:

'There is on a mountain a castle, called that of the sparrow-hawk. Within, is a beautiful virgin, and a sparrow-hawk on a perch. Whoever goes there and does not sleep but watches for three days and three nights, whatever he asks of the virgin, that is chaste, that she will grant to him. And when he finishes the watch, he goes into the castle and comes to a fine palace, where he sees a sparrow-hawk standing on a perch: and when the sparrow-hawk sees the man, he screams, and the virgin comes out of her chamber, welcomes him and says: "Thou hast served me and watched for three days and three nights, and whatever thou now askest of me that is pure, that will I grant unto thee." And she does so. But if anybody asks for something that exhibits pride, impudence, or avarice, she curses him and his offspring, so that he can no longer attain an honourable position.'[2]

The fate of three typical adventurers is given. The first, 'a good poor fellow', asked only that he and his family might live with honour and had his wish granted. The second, a prince of Armenia, asked for the hand of

[1] Ed. Wright, p. 139: *cf.* Fabri, *Evagat.* iii, 267–8. See also Polites in *Δελτίον Ἱστορ. Ἑταιρείας*, i, 85 ff.

[2] Schiltberger, ed. Telfer (for the Hakluyt Society), p. 41, § 30: *cf.* Mandeville, ed. Wright, p. 202.

the lady; and the third, a knight of Rhodes, for an inexhaustible purse; these were cursed for the sins of pride and avarice respectively. The introduction of the hawk, though without much relevance for the story as here told, is of interest as explaining the name 'Hawk Castle' (*Doghan Hisar*) borne by several ruined castles in Turkey.[1]

(*c*) The 'Princess with Rival Lovers' *motif* demands a rather more elaborate setting. The theme is a competition between the lovers for the hand of the heroine. One of them undertakes as his task to build the castle of which the story is told, the other generally an aqueduct. The latter feature seems to be an adaptation from the somewhat different story of the loves of Ferhad and Shirin, originally Persian and located in Persia,[2] afterwards treated by several Turkish poets [3] and given a picturesque Turkish setting in the neighbourhood of Amasia, where the aqueduct hewn in the rock by Ferhad for the service of his mistress, and even the grave of the faithful lover, are shown.[4]

The juxtaposition of castle and aqueduct in Greco-Turkish lands seems almost inevitably to attract the story of the Rival Lovers.[5] A variant of some interest was told me in 1915 of Nikopolis. Here the rivals were three brothers who each produced a masterpiece in

[1] *e. g.* near Panderma (Hamilton, *Asia Minor*, ii, 95). The *doghan* is a species of goshawk.

[2] At Kasr-i-Shirin (Browne, *Lit. History of Persia*, ii, 405; Gibb, *Ottoman Poetry*, i, 318). The Persian story in its literary form is at least as early as the twelfth century. [3] Gibb, *op. cit.*, i, 318 ff.

[4] Haji Khalfa, *Djihannuma*, tr. Armain, p. 682; Sestini, *Viaggio a Bassora*, p. 45; Skene, *Anadol*, p. 104; Hamilton, *Asia Minor*, i, 373. For a Greek parallel or derivative *cf.* the Cypriote story of Digenes and Regina (Polites, *Παραδόσεις*, no. 73).

[5] It is told of a castle in Acarnania (Polites, *op. cit.*, no. 164); of the *Κάστρο τῆς Ὡραιᾶς* in Doris (*ibid.*, no. 165); of Corinth (*ibid.*, no. 162); of Attica (*ibid.*, no. 163); of a castle in Naxos (*ibid.*, no. 167); of Aspendus in Pamphylia (*ibid.*, no. 149); and of Phyle in Attica (Collignon in *Mém. Ac. Inscr.* xxxix (1914), p. 423).

competition for the hand of the princess at Preveza (*i.e.* Nikopolis), where there are several ruins suitable for the legendary princess's palace. The first built the aqueduct of Nikopolis, the second the church of the Panagia Paregorítissa at Arta, while the third in one day planted a vineyard and gathered its fruit. The three having been declared equal, they prayed that the princess might be smitten with leprosy so that none of them could have her. Which prayer being granted, the story comes to an unromantic end.

§ 3. *Perversions*

Professor Polites' learned note on the various stories of the 'Castle of the Fair One' makes it clear that the original *Ὡραία* has in some cases undergone considerable perversion. Notable are the confusions with Syria (*Κάστρο τῆς Ὡραίας = Κάστρο τῆς Συρίας*) in the stories from the Sporades concerning the castle of Korykos, and with the Macedonian castle of Servia (*Κάστρο τῆς Ὡραίας = Κάστρο τῆς Σερβίας*) in the story there localized. Still more widely spread is the perversion of *Ὡραία* into *Ὀβραία* (for *Ἑβραία* = Jew), which is, partly at least,[1] responsible for the numerous 'Jews' Castles' (*Ὀβραιόκαστρο*, Turkish *Chifut Kalesi*) on both sides of the Aegean.

We have thus found that many of the commoner names given to ruined castles in the Greco-Turkish area (*Κάστρο τῆς Ὡραίας* = Kiz Kalesi, *Ὀβραιόκαστρο*—Chifut Kalesi, Doghan Hisar, Kechi Kale) may be derived from the 'Maiden's Castle' cycle of folk-legend or attached to it with a little ingenuity. The essential for the 'strategic' type is inaccessibility, for the 'immured princess' isolation, for the 'bewitched maiden' remoteness. All these characteristics may be combined

[1] The influence of the *genuine* Chifut Kalesi, a colony of Karaite Jews in the Crimea, must also be taken into consideration.

in the same castle, and the presence of an aqueduct or other remarkable building near it would render it eligible for the 'rival lovers' *motif*. One building could therefore lay claim to more than one legend, as is conspicuously the case with 'Leander's Tower' and Korykos.

In conclusion, it seems worth while to draw attention to a development on the Turkish side of the 'Maiden's Castle' cycle, which brings it into connexion with an entirely new range of associations. In more than one instance the anonymous maiden (*kiz*) heroine of these castle legends is identified by the simple process of adding the syllable *bel* to the already existing *kiz*, and so arriving at Belkis, who figures in eastern legend as the Queen of Sheba and wife of Solomon. A ruin which is so large or so beautiful as to suggest supernatural builders is thus appropriately enough brought into connexion with Solomon, the arch-magician. Such palaces of Belkis are found in the theatre of Aspendus,[1] the temple on Cape Sunium,[2] and that of Hadrian at Cyzicus.[3] The column of Julian at Angora figures as the Minaret of Belkis.[4] But at Aspendus Belkis in her turn is thrown into the melting-pot of popular etymology and emerges with an entirely new setting based on the equation of the first syllable of her name to the Turkish *bal* (*honey*). Bal Kiz, the 'Honey Maiden', figures as the daughter of the Queen of the Bees; she is courted by the King of the Serpents, who eventually carries her off by means of a cleverly contrived bridge. This bridge is evidently the remarkable siphon-aqueduct of Aspendus,

[1] Texier, *Asie Mineure*, iii, 218. The same author remarks (ii, 169) that Belkis is associated also with Sagalassus. For her at Baalbek see Petermann, *Reisen im Orient*, p. 315.

[2] Piri Reis in *Ath. Mitth.* xxvii, 427.

[3] Texier, *Asie Mineure*, ii, 169; Hasluck, *Cyzicus*, p. 5, *cf.* p. 204; Piri Reis, *loc. cit.*

[4] H. Barth, *Reise*, p. 79; here again there is a fluctuation between 'Kiz Minare' (Tournefort, *Voyage*, Letter xxi) and 'Belkis Minare'.

which is made use of also in the local version of the 'Rival Lovers and the Princess'.[1]

[1] The latter part of this development is possibly paralleled in the case of a notable castle in Cilicia called Shah Meran Kalesi, or, in Turkish vernacular, Yilan Kalesi (*Snake's Castle*), which is supposed to be the actual residence of the King of the Serpents (Haji Khalfa, *Djihannuma*, tr. Armain, p. 662; Menasik-el-Haj, tr. Bianchi, in *Rec. de Voyages*, ii, 102; Langlois, *Cilicie*, p. 469; Davis, *Asiatic Turkey*, pp. 73 ff.; Cuinet, *Turquie d'Orient*, ii. 43, 93; H. J. Ross, *Letters from the East*, p. 283). If we take into consideration the facts (*a*) that Cilicia was once part of the medieval kingdom of Armenia and (*b*) that Semiramis (Shah Miram) is a prominent figure in Armenian folk-lore (see Tozer, *Turkish Arm.*, pp. 349 ff.; Boré, *Arménie*, p. 75; Scott-Stevenson, *Ride through Asia Minor*, p. 273), it seems probable that Shah Meran is a perversion of Shah Miram (Semiramis), just as Balkiz is of Belkis.

LX

A MODERN TRADITION OF JERUSALEM

DOWN to our own times, certainly as late as the sixties of the last century, the city of Jerusalem solemnly closed its gates every week during the time of the Mohammedans' midday prayer on Fridays.[1] More than one tourist has been disagreeably surprised, on returning from a morning excursion outside the walls, to find himself obliged to wait at the closed gate till the ordinary traffic was resumed. This curious custom arose, not from any religious scruple on the part of the Turks, but on account of an alleged prophecy, which foretold that on this day of the week and at this hour a Christian army should one day surprise the city. The superstition appears to have been more or less general in the Turkish empire, and can be traced as far back as the latter half of the sixteenth century. A western traveller, Dr. Rauwolff, writing in 1575, says[2] that Turks believed their power was to be overthrown a thousand years after its inception. As their millennium fell a few years later (in 1592–3), they were in his time in great fear of the Christians, and on holidays shut the gates of their towns and public buildings early to prevent being surprised by the Christians.

Later, the custom of closing the town gates during Friday prayer is recorded at Rhodes by several travellers,[3] and at Tangier by Borrow, the gypsy-scholar.[4] At

[1] *Cf.* E. Robinson, *Palestine*, i, 356; Saulcy, *Voyage en Terre Sainte*, p. 295; Tobler, *Topogr. von Jerusalem*, i, 147; Thévenot, *Voyages*, ii. 653.

[2] In Ray's *Voyages*, i, 311: quoted in full above, p. 721.

[3] Jowett, *Christian Researches*, p. 416; Turner, *Tour in the Levant*, iii, 17; C. B. Elliott, *Travels*, ii, 175.

[4] *Bible in Spain*, p. 332: *cf.* Drummond Hay, *Marokko*, pp. 4 f. At Alexandria the Turks shut the *fondics* of the Frankish merchants

Jerusalem itself it cannot be traced earlier than the early seventeenth century,[1] and the silence of the very numerous earlier pilgrims makes it improbable that it obtained much before this. Indeed, the starting-point of the idea is probably rather Rhodes than Jerusalem, since it is a matter of history that in 1525, only three years after the loss of Rhodes to Christendom, a plot was elaborated for its surprise and recapture. This depended on taking advantage of the slack watch kept by the garrison during the time of Friday prayers.[2] At Jerusalem, however, as often happens, this comparatively recent tradition of the weekly hour of danger was amalgamated with the originally independent idea that a victorious Christian army was fated one day to enter the city by the Golden Gate of the Temple area,[3] the traditional site, not only of Christ's triumphal entry, but also of that of the victorious Byzantine emperor Heraclius, bearing the True Cross recovered in his Persian campaign.[4]

The Golden Gate has been walled up for many centuries.[5] Probably on some theory of recurrent

at night and during the Friday prayer (De Brèves, *Voyages*, p. 235). Shaw (*Travels to Barbary*, i, 402) says the practice was general all over the Turkish area.

[1] Tobler, *Topogr. von Jerusalem*, i, 147, citing Troilo (1666–?), p. 152.

[2] Torr, *Rhodes*, p. 33.

[3] Thévenot, *Voyages*, ii, 653; Maundrell, ed. Wright, p. 173; Goujon, *Terre Sainte*, p. 122 (emperor of France to enter conquered Jerusalem here); Pierotti, *Légendes Racontées*, p. 35 (a king of the West to enter).

[4] I. Burton, *Inner Life of Syria*, p. 371.

[5] De Brèves, *Voyages*, p. 158; d'Arvieux, *Mémoires*, ii, 214; Thévenot, *loc. cit.*; Tischendorf, *Terre-Sainte*, p. 189. Lady Burton (*loc. cit.*) says it has been closed for 713 years; the *Citez de Hierusalem* (1187), cited by Tobler, *Topogr. von Jerusalem*, ii. 994, says the gate was already walled up. Williams (*The Holy City*, i, 152) records the tradition that it had been closed by Omar. For the evidence of its temporary opening on the festivals of Palm Sunday and Holy Cross, see below, p. 753, n. 6.

cycles, it appears to have been fairly usual for a Mohammedan conqueror to block the gate by which he entered a conquered city, presumably to prevent the operation being repeated to his prejudice by a hostile force at a subsequent period, when the constellations should again be in favourable conjunction for entry.[1] Historical instances of this occur at the conquest of Rhodes in 1522[2] and of Bagdad in 1638.[3] Elsewhere in the East blocked city gates are not uncommonly associated, rightly or wrongly, with this superstition.[4] Greek tradition, for example, holds that the Golden Gate of Byzantine Constantinople was blocked for a like reason.[5]

It seems evident, from the passage in Rauwolff, that the gates of Turkish towns were closed on Fridays in apprehension, not of an isolated attack, but of a more general catastrophe to Moslem arms, coincident with the year 1000 of the Mohammedan era (A. D. 1592–3); and it is probable that the idea, starting from Rhodes, developed in that sense. At Jerusalem the Golden Gate appears to have been walled up already in crusading times,[6] though it was temporarily opened twice a year for the two festivals of Palm Sunday and Holy

[1] *Cf.* the case of the Persian ambassador in 1806 cited above, p. 203, n. 5.

[2] Belabre, *Rhodes of the Knights*, p. 64.

[3] Niebuhr, *Voyage en Arabie*, ii, 240.

[4] The Turks walled up a gate at Damascus for this reason (Thévenot, *Voyages*, iii, 49: there is a view of it in Porter, *Damascus*). A certain gate at Cairo was unlucky for Mohammed Ali, who never used it (Mills, *Three Months*, p. 53).

[5] Polites, *Παραδόσεις*, p. 669.

[6] Joannes Wirziburgensis (*c.* 1165: cited by Tobler, *Descr. Terr. Sanct. ex saecc. viii, ix, xii, xv*, p. 128) says it was 'lapidibus obstructa' except when opened for Palm Sunday and Holy Cross. Similarly, Ludolf von Suchem (*De Itinere* (*c.* 1350), p. 76) says it was 'semper clausa', but describes the Palm Sunday procession. There were wooden doors there in the sixteenth century according to Meggen (1542), Villinger (1565), Fürer (1566), and Lussy (1583), all cited by Tobler, *Topogr. von Jerusalem*, i, 156.

Cross,[1] commemorating the entries of Christ [2] and Heraclius [3] respectively. But the Turks' apprehension of attack was sufficiently real to induce them to set a special watch inside the blocked gate during the fatal hour.[4]

It will be remembered that our own troops, who in a sense may be held to have fulfilled the belated prophecy, marched into Jerusalem by the commonplace Jaffa or Hebron gate used by every visitor driving from the station before the war. Thus the 'prophecy' appears to have been no more—though perhaps it is fair to add, no less—successful than many others made in recent times.

[1] Sept. 14.

[2] The superstition that Christ shall re-enter Jerusalem by the Golden Gate during the Friday prayer is mentioned by Quaresimus (1616–26), Troilo (1666–?), and Chateaubriand (1806), according to Tobler, *Topogr. von Jerusalem*, i, 156. Petachia (tr. Carmoly, in *Nouv. Journ. As.* viii, 1831, p. 404) says that the Jews of his time had a tradition that the *Séchinah* went into exile by this gate and should one day return in triumph by it: in support of the tradition he quotes *Zech.* xiv, 4 and *Is.* lii, 8.

[3] Burton, *Inner Life of Syria*, p. 371: Tobler, *Descr. Terr. Sanct. ex saecc. viii, ix, xii, xv*, p. 128 (Joannes Wirziburgensis).

[4] Pierotti, *Légendes Racontées*, p. 35: Tobler, *Topogr. von Jerusalem*, i, 146. That the Arabic root *feth* should mean both *to enter* and *to conquer* may also have contributed towards the growth of the legend.

LXI

ORIGINAL TEXTS

I. *The Parthenon as a Mosque* [1]

La Guilletière, *Athènes Ancienne et Nouvelle*, pp. 193 f.

'IL n'y a pas quinze ans que le Temple de Minerve estoit une des plus celebres Mosquées du Monde. Elle avoit esté mise en reputation par les Derviches, qui sont des Religieux Turcs ; Et avant que le grand Vizir . . . irrité des fraudes qu'ils faisoient dans la Religion Mahometane les eust chassez de l'Europe pour les renvoyer à Cogna, lieu de leur institution, on ne faisoit point d'estat d'un de ces Religieux s'il n'avoit esté en pelerinage à la Mosquée d'Athenes. Ces sortes de Pelerins avoient defiguré le dedans du Temple par une quantité de morceaux de taffetas, et de vieilles escharpes qu'ils avoient arborées de tous costez. Il n'y avoit pas jusqu'à leurs Devots . . . qui n'attachassent aux murailles quelque petite Banderolle mi partie de rouge, & de jaune, & quelquefois de jaune & de vert . . . Enfin on y attachoit quelque curiosité qu'on avoit apportée des pays estrangers, & un Artisan Turc qui avoit fait quelque chef d'œuvre de son art, le venoit estaler le long des murailles. Ce grand attirail d'offrandes en est presque banny.'

II. *Extracts on Lampedusa* [2]

(*a*) Thévenot, *Travels* (1656), p. 271.

'It is an Island that produces nothing, and is only inhabited by Coneys : but because there is good Water upon it, and a good Harbour, Ships put in there for Fresh-water.

In that Isle there is a little Chappel, wherein there is

[1] To illustrate p. 14. [2] To illustrate p. 46.

an Image of the Blessed Virgin, which is much Reverenced both by Christians and Infidels, that put ashoar there; and every Vessel always leaves some present upon it. Some Money, others Bisket, Oyl, Wine, Gunpowder, Bullets, Swords, Musquets, and in short, all things that can be useful even to little cases; and when any one stands in need of any of these things, he takes it, and leaves Money or somewhat else in place thereof. The Turks observe this practice as well as the Christians, and leave Presents there. As for the Money no body meddles with that, and the Galleys of *Malta* go thither once a year, and take the Money they find upon the Altar, which they carry to our Lady of *Trapano* in Sicily. [Follows a story of a ship which could not leave the island, one of the ship's company having stolen from the Virgin] . . . Many Miracles are wrought in that place, at the intercession of our Blessed Lady, which are not so much as doubted of, neither by Christians nor Turks.'

(*b*) Sir Dudley North (1680), in R. North, *Lives of the Norths*, ii, 160 f.

'Lampadoza . . . they say is uninhabited, and hath on it only one vaulted building, or church; on one side whereof, there is an altar for the Christians, and, on another place, for the devotions of the Turks; and so it is by all esteemed holy. In this building, they say, are always found most things necessary for seafaring men; clothes of all sorts, cordage, biscuit, &c., and a treasury of all sorts of money, though in no great quantity. It is lawful for all, that come here, to serve their occasions with what they find and need; but they must be sure to leave in value somewhat else that may be equally needful on other occasions, be it money or goods; which if they perform not, it is said that they can never sail from the island, but will stand still in the sea, be the wind never so fresh. For this reason, it is

said that, whenever any vessels or gallies of Corso, come here, who are full of lawless needy rogues, they, that command in chief, have care to send some principal man, to see that nothing be embezzled by any of their company, for fear of being punished by the winds, &c.'

(*c*) Sieur Dumont, *Nouveau Voyage du Levant*, 1694, p. 224.

'Il y a dans cette Ile une petite Chapelle dediée à la Vierge, dans laquelle il y a un Autel, & tout auprés un cercueil, avec un turban au dessus, & on apelle cela le Tombeau de Mahomet. Les Turcs & les Chrêtiens ont une si grande devotion à cette Chapelle; qu'il n'y passe jamais ni des uns ni des autres, sans y faire quelque ofrande soit d'argent, soit de vivres ou autre chose; nous y trouvâmes dessus deux grosses pastaiques fraiches, un sequin d'or, des aspres d'argent, & quelque petite monnoye de Malthe, que nôtre Capitaine augmenta d'une piece de trois sols & demi de France. Nôtre nocher me dit que tout ce qu'on métoit là, étoit pour le secours des pauvres Esclaves, qui se sauvoient souvent de Malthe ou d'Afrique par cet endroit, & devenoit si sacré & miraculeux; que si quelqu'un qui ne seroit pas esclave, avoit pris quelque chose sur cet Autel, il ne pouroit jamais sortir de l'Ile.'

(*d*) J. Otter, *Voyage en Turquie* (1734), ii, 371 ff.

'L'Isle n'a point d'autre habitation qu'un Hermitage,[1] ou l'on voit une petite Chapelle dédiée à la sainte Vierge, & le Tombeau d'un Murabit nommé Beni Mubarek, l'un & l'autre taillés dans le roc.

[1] The hermit is mentioned already by Ariosto. In *Orlando Furioso*, XLIII, cl ff., he mentions the island as the scene of a combat between Christians and Saracens. *Ibid.* XLI, i ff., he relates how Roger, on his way from Biserta, is cast ashore on a desert island inhabited by a hermit who baptizes him. The island, however, is never named. In XLIII, clxxxvii ff., Ariosto indicates that the hermit and island are near Sicily.

'Cet Hermitage appartient aujourd'hui à un Prêtre Maltois, qui dessert la Chapelle. Il a aussi soin de tenir la grotte du tombeau bien propre, & d'y faire brûler une lampe. Ce n'est même qu'à cette condition qu'il y est souffert par les Turcs & par les Barbaresques, comme il paroît par des Patentes accordées à l'Hermite par un Capoudan Pacha, et par les Begs d'Alger & de Tripoli . . . Les vaisseaux qui y relâchent en assez grand nombre laissent tous quelque chose à l'Hermite, soit en argent, soit en provisions. Frère Antoine m'avoua même qu'il arrivoit souvent que de bonnes ames Mahométanes, attirées par la dévotion au tombeau de Beni Mubarek, laissoient des aumônes pour l'entretien de sa lampe.'

(*e*) Pococke, *Description of the East* (1737), II, ii, 183.

'[Lampidosa] did belong to a Christian hermit, and a Marabut or Turkish hermit, and served as a place both for Christians and Turks to take in provisions, with an agreement that neither of them should suffer from those of the different religion. The Marabut dying not long ago, the Mahometan Corsairs seized on what was in the island, and carried the Christian away captive, of which great complaint was made by the French consul, who demanded the captive.'

(*f*) Egmont and Heymann, *Travels*, i, 63.

'Its only inhabitant is a French priest, called father Clement, who lives in a cave like a hermit, probably by way of penance, to atone for the disorders of his life while a pirate, which for many years was his occupation. Some part of his provisions he fetches from *Malta* in a boat, though scarce a ship touches here without making him some acknowledgment. He has also made himself a garden, and erected an altar, where he reads mass before a statue of the Virgin Mary, pretended to be miraculous. Close by this harbour is interred a Turkish

Saint, in great repute among the Mahometans, who, on passing by this island, never fail to offer up their prayers.'

III. *Extracts on Mamasun* [1]

(*a*) Pharasopoulos, *Τὰ Σύλατα*, 1895, p. 74.

Μαμασός . . . ἐνταῦθα διατηρεῖται . . . ὁ ναὸς τοῦ ἁγίου Μάμαντος λελατομημένος ἐν βράχῳ καὶ περιέχων τὰ λείψανα τοῦ προμνημονηθέντος ἁγίου, ὧν τεμάχιά τινα ἐπηργυρωμένα φέρουσι γράμματα Ἀρμενικά. ἐπίσης ὑπάρχει καὶ ἀργυρᾶ θήκη, ἐν ᾗ εὑρίσκεται ἓν ὠλένιον καὶ ἓν κερκιδικὸν ὀστοῦν. Ὑπάρχει δὲ καὶ ἓν ἀργυροῦν περιλαίμιον, δι' οὗ περιβάλλουσι τοὺς λαιμοὺς αὐτῶν, οἱ κατὰ καιροὺς πρὸς ἴασιν ἐρχόμενοι ἀσθενεῖς.

Ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ ταύτῃ Χριστιανοὶ καὶ Ὀθωμανοί, ἐν ἀπιστεύτῳ καὶ πρωτοφανῇ (sic) ἁρμονίᾳ ἐκτελοῦσι τὰ θρησκευτικὰ αὐτῶν καθήκοντα ἑκάτεροι κατὰ τὰ νενομισμένα. Εὑρίσκονται δὲ ἐν αὐτῇ ἐννέα εἰκόνες παριστῶσαι τὸν ἅγιον Μάμαντα, τοὺς ἁγ. Κωνσταντῖνον καὶ Ἑλένην καὶ τὴν Θεομήτορα.

i.e. 'At Mamasos is preserved the rock-hewn church of S. Mamas, which contains the relics of the saint. Some portions of these have been silvered over and have Armenian letters on them. There is also a silver reliquary which contains one arm and one shin bone, and a silver necklace which is put round the neck of the sick persons, who come from time to time for healing.

In this church both Christian and Turk perform their religious duties, each after his manner, strange to say without the least friction. There are in it nine pictures (*εἰκόνες*) representing S. Mamas, SS. Constantine and Helen, and the Virgin.'

(*b*) Levides, *Αἱ ἐν Μονολίθοις Μοναὶ τῆς Καππαδοκίας*, pp. 130 f.

Ἐν τῇ δύο ὥρας ταύτης [sc. Ἅκ Σαραί] ἀπεχούσῃ κώμῃ Μαμασὴν σώζεται ἐκκλησία τιμωμένη ἐπ' ὀνόματι τοῦ ἁγίου Μάμαντος καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου Κωνσταντίνου ἀρχαία λελατομημένη ἀνήκουσα εἰς Μοναστήριον ἠρειπιωμένον, ὅπερ οἱ πέριξ χρι-

[1] To illustrate p. 44.

στιανοὶ θέλοντες νὰ ἀνακαινίσωσιν ἔκτισαν περὶ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν οἰκήματά τινα εἰς κατοίκησιν τῶν δὶς τοῦ ἔτους, τῇ ιε΄ Αὐγούστου καὶ κα΄ Μαΐου ἐκ Καρβάλης, Ἀρχελαΐδος [Ak Serai] *καὶ Νεαπόλεως* [Nevshehr] *ἐρχομένων προσκυνητῶν. ὁ νεωκόρος τοῦ ναοῦ τούτου εἶνε τοῦρκος, δεικνύει δὲ ἐντὸς κιβωτίου λείψανά τινα, ἅτινα εὑρέθησαν αὐτόθι καὶ λέγεται ὅτι εἰσὶ τοῦ ἁγίου Μάμαντος· ὅτι μὲν δὲν εἶνε τοῦ ἁγίου Μάμαντος δηλοῦται,* etc., *εἰσὶ δὲ οὐχὶ ἑνός, ἀλλὰ δύο ἢ καὶ τριῶν ἁγίων λείψανα.*

i.e., 'In the village Mamasin, two hours from Ak Serai, is preserved an ancient rock-cut church dedicated to S. Mamas. This belonged to a monastery now ruined, which the Christians of the neighbourhood had the idea of restoring. They have erected near the church buildings for the reception of the pilgrims who come twice a year (15 August and 21 May)[1] from Karvala, Ak Serai, and Nevshehr. The custodian of this church is a Turk, who exhibits certain relics in a box. These were found on the spot and are said to be those of S. Mamas, but it is clear that they are not his, from what we have said in the chapter on Caesarea about the martyrdom of this saint. Further, they are not the remains of one, but of two or three, saints.'

(*c*) Carnoy and Nicolaides, *Traditions populaires de l'Asie Mineure*, pp. 192 f.

'Le couvent de Saint-Mamas était, il y a longtemps, bien longtemps, une maison en ruine où un Ottoman serrait de la paille. Or, un jour, le feu prit de lui-même dans la masure et consuma toute la paille. Le Turc ne comprit rien à ce prodige qui se renouvela plusieurs fois.

De guerre lasse le propriétaire fit une étable de la maison ruinée, et y enferma ses bestiaux. Le lendemain, un de ses animaux mourut : le surlendemain, ce fut un autre ; puis un troisième, un quatrième, jusqu'au dernier.

[1] Assumption and S. Constantine. S. Mamas is celebrated on 2 Sept.

L'Ottoman, qui était un homme pieux, soupçonna quelque mystère. Il fit des fouilles dans le sol de la masure et découvrit d'abord une église grecque, puis les reliques de saint Mamas.

Le propriétaire fit de l'étable un lieu de pèlerinage, moitié mosquée, moitié église.

Mamaçon-Teguessi—couvent de Mamas—se trouve dans un petit village turc.'

IV. *Extracts on Eski Baba* [1]

(*a*) S. Gerlach (1578), *Tage-Buch*, p. 511.

'Es vor dem Dorff daraussen eine alte Griechische Kirche hat, darinnen vor Zeiten *St. Niclaus Bischoff* gewesen. Die ist jetzunder gleich wie ein Spital der Türckischen Mönch und Heiligen, welche nun darinnen wohnen. Vor derselben heraussen an der Mauren hangen viel Schaffs-Felle, die sie über sich nehmen, wann sie aussgehen. In der Kirchen drinnen ist zur rechten Hand ein Ort mit einem Gegitter von der andern Kirchen unterscheiden, da an der Wand einander nach herumb hangen ein Hauffen *Rosenkräntz* von schwartzem Holtz: eine Stangen von einem Fahnen, wie sie die *Arabische Bettler* tragen: Ein übergüldtes *Straussen Ey*: Ein *grosser Buzigan*: [2] Ein Bischofs Hut, in der Mitte gleich, und ein Rosen-Krantz dabey: recht unter diesem ist es zugerichtet wie ein Bettlein, zu dessen Füssen 5. *Leuchter* stehen, und wieder eine *Stange* wie der Arabischen Bettler, in der Mitten dieser Leuchter brennet ein ewiges Liecht. Neben dem Bischoffs-Hut hanget an der Wand ein grosser eiserner *Pfeil*, ein überaus grosser *Bogen*, des Alibides höltzernes Schwerd, zween höltzerne Colben, eine Tartschen,[3] ein Dänlein und Hirschhorn, endlich 4. Hirschfüsse. Diese Waffen, sprechen die Türcken, habe *St. Niclaus* gefüh-

[1] To illustrate p. 54 ff.

[2] *Bosdaghan* (Tk.)=*mace*.

[3] *Round shield*.

ret : Die *Griechen* aber sprechen, die Türcken habens nur hinein gehänget. Heraussen ist die Kirche mit schlechten Deppichen bedeckt, als ob stäts etliche Schneider da wären : An der Wand stehen *Arabische Schriften.*'

(*b*) Robert Bargrave, *Travels* (1652), Bodleian Codex Rawlinson, C. 799, f. 50 *vso.*

'Sept. 14 (1652). We came to a Toune calld Baba Sari Saltik (Father yellow Pate) which has its name from a Chappell therein, so calld by ye Turkes, but by ye Greeks, Aghios Nicolas, where a Xtian saint is sayd to be buryed ; to whom belongs this Story : When ye Turkes first conquerd these Parts, they assayd divers times to burne this Chappell but were still miraculously preuented, wherefore they conclude that Saint to have been in part a Mussleman (of theyr Relligion) and so proclaime him to this day. It is now lookd to by a dervis-woman who keeps a Lamp allways burning in it and it is called a Tekie.'

(*c*) Covel, *Diaries* (1675), ed. Bent, p. 186.

'An old Turk took it (Bobbas-cui) from the Christians, and from him it is now so named, for *bobba* is the common name for *Father*, and is given to every old man in common discourse. He lyes buryed in St. Nicholas' church, the one thing remaining of the Greekes memoriall or building here. It is made a place of prayer, and he is reckoned a great saint among the common people. When we went into it to see his tomb we met another old Turk, who had brought three candles, and presented them to an old woman that looks after it, and shews it to strangers. He said he had made a vow in distresse to do it. The old woman told us : Yes, my sons, when ever you are in danger pray to this good holy man, and he will infallibly help you. Oh fye ! sister, quoth the old Turk, do not so vainly commit sin,

for he was a mortall man and a sinner as well as we. I know it, quoth the old wife, that onely God doth all and he doth nothing; but God for his sake will the sooner hear us; and so ended that point of Turkish divinity. This Church is standing pretty intire. It is but little . . . but very handsome, in the same forme almost with Sta. Sophia, with a great *Cupola* over the body of it; but the outward wall is scaloped.'

V. *Extracts on the Tekke of Hafiz Khalil, Balchik* [1]

(*a*) Jireček, *Bulgarien* (1891), p. 533.

'Von den sechs und zwanzig Derwischen, die Kanitz 1872 hier fand, ist nur ein Einziger übrig. Der Heilige dieses Klosters ist ein merkwürdiger utraquistischer Mann; den Türken gilt er als Akjazyly-Babá, den Christen als St. Athanas und wird von Christen und Mohammedanern besonders zur Entdeckung von gestohlenem Vieh angerufen. Vor dem Krimkrieg soll er nur das Vieh der Musulmänner beschützt haben, aber seitdem fanden die schlauen Derwische Wege ihn auch den Christen genehm zu machen. Im Jahre 1883 wurden die Geschenke für jede der beiden Personen des Patrons besonders gesammelt und das christliche Geld zu einem Schulbau in Balčik verwendet. Jetzt hat die Kirche diesem Doppelcultus ein Ende gemacht, dem wir bald in einer zweiten, vielleicht älteren Gestalt begegnen werden. Das 'Tekke' selbst ist ein thurmartiges Siebeneck aus schönen Quadern mit starkem Echo im Innern; das Grab des Heiligen ist ein niedriger dachförmiger Sarkophag mit einer grünen Decke, umgeben von Leuchtern und Lampen. Dabei liegen der Koran, die Schüssel, das Siegel (ein metallener durchlöcherter Deckel) und die Pantoffel des Akjazyly-Babá, in welchen Fieberkranke Rundgänge um das Grab zu machen pflegen. Die Russen sollen 1828 den Schädel

[1] To illustrate p. 91.

des Heiligen entführt haben. Auf dem Hofe zeigt man unter einem Aprikosenbaum einen Stein, bei welchem Akjazyly-Babá badete oder nach der christlichen Legende St. Athanas getödtet wurde. Gegenüber liegt die malerische Ruine eines siebeneckigen Imarets (Gasthauses), auf dessen Hof hohes Gras mit Disteln und Klatschrosen wuchert und dessen Kamin Nachteulen bewohnen.'

(*b*) J. Nicolaos, *Ἡ Ὀδησσός*, pp. 248 ff. (Translation.)

'In the village of Tekke, situated four hours north-east of the city [Varna] on the Balchik road and now inhabited by Circassian refugees, is a church called Tekke, from which the village takes its name. This church was once Christian and dedicated to S. Athanasius; it was undoubtedly in Christian hands originally. It is now occupied by Mohammedan dervishes. It stands alone on a steep hill opposite the village, which occupies the lower slopes of an adjacent valley. On the second of May, when the feast of S. Athanasius is celebrated by pious Christians, it has been frequented time out of mind by the population of the city [Varna] and the neighbouring villages, and every year there takes place an important *panegyris*, since the healing virtue of the church is celebrated and attracts crowds yearly to the spot. The church is always open and any one who wishes may go and light a candle there. In it is the tomb of the saint, half a metre high and built of marble; on it are a Gospel and lamps, and near it is a hole in the paved floor. When any one is ill, or has damaged a limb, he is carried by his relatives to the tomb of the saint, near which is a pair of women's slippers.[1] Then the dervish asks the sick man whether he is not afraid to pass the night there: if he says he is not, the dervish shuts the door, and the sick man stays

[1] *Ἕν ζεῦγος ἐμβάδων ἢ μᾶλλον γυναικείων εὐμαρίδων.*

by the tomb or sleeps there, thrusting his maimed hand or ailing foot into the hole mentioned above, and at dawn comes out cured.

'One such sufferer, whose thigh was injured, relates that he stayed there all night with his foot thrust into the hole; the dervish retired to his house to sleep, the church was locked, and the patient remained alone in it. All night he felt his foot dragged downward by a violent force, and thought he would be sucked down altogether. To increase his alarm, he heard in the silence of the night a noise as of a man, or rather a spirit, trailing the slippers we have mentioned regularly over the paved floor of the church. The wretched man shrank into himself with fear, and never raised his eyes to see what was happening, but only listened. The noise continued till it was nearly morning. At last, thinking he was going to be sucked down altogether into the earth and making up his mind to hold out to the end, whatever might happen, he fell asleep at the hole about dawn. In the morning the dervish opened the church; there was no supernatural noise or disturbance. The sufferer took his foot out of the hole, came out entirely cured, and returned home telling what had happened.

'A woman of Varna, who did not believe what was reported of the healing power of the church, put her hand into the hole, pretending it was ailing, whereas in reality it was perfectly sound. She remained all night in the church alone, shut in by the dervish, and had the same experience, that is to say, she was drawn down with irresistible force by the arm she had placed in the hole, and heard the noise of the spirit walking in the church with the slippers trailing over the floor. But in the morning, when she wanted to take her arm from the hole, they say she was totally unable to do so until a posse of villagers came and dragged it out by force. The woman herself was so frightened that she died a few days after.'

VI. *Extract*[1] *on the Bektashi Tekkes of Thessaly*[2]

ΠΡΟΜΗΘΕΥΣ, 1893, no. 55, pp. 442 f. (Translation)

'South-east of this village [Irinì or Rinì in the deme of Skotousa], in a hilly and romantic situation among tall and shady trees (planes, dwarf-oaks, and cornels), stands the *tekke* of the Bektashi, an establishment famous throughout all Thessaly. In it, according to Government statistics, reside thirty-nine dervishes, but at the time of my visit (1888) I was told that there were, exclusive of servitors, fifty-four, all illiterate and superstitious Albanians. An intelligent dervish informed me that the *tekke* was formerly a monastery of the western church,[3] and that the Turks took it over about 1630–40; there was a church of S. Demetrius, but the dervishes say it was dedicated to S. George, on account of the greater veneration they affect towards the latter.[4] For a time the *tekke* was occupied by Turkish dervishes

[1] To illustrate p. 93.

[2] This is a translation of an article from the Volo periodical to which my attention was called by M. Pericles Apostolides of Volo. The periodical in question was edited, and seems to have been written also, by an Athonite monk, Zosimas.

[3] On this point Mr. Apostolides has kindly supplied me with the following additional information: 'I was told at the *tekke* of Rinì that an inscribed slab with Latin characters was preserved there: this may be the tomb of some Franciscan abbot. According to a *chrysoboullon* of the monastery of Makryniotissa the lands of this foundation extended to the district of Seraji Irini (*Σερατζῆ Ἰρινύ*). It is therefore most probable that this site was occupied and the monastery built by Franciscans in the Frankish period.' The existence of a Franciscan monastery in seventeenth-century Thessaly seems to me highly improbable. Confusion has probably arisen from the inscription in letters really or supposedly 'Frankish'.

[4] In *Προμηθεύς*, 1891 (p. 268), the same author writes: 'There is a local tradition that the dervishes preserve to the present day a picture of S. Demetrius and burn lamps before it. I questioned the dervishes on this subject, but was not allowed to see the picture.'

from the great *tekke*, called Kulakli Baba, at Konia.[1] But during the despotic reign of the famous Ali Pasha of Tepelen (according to the *Phonì toù Laoù*),[2] who justified his contempt for religion by pretending to be a follower of the liberal Bektashi, it was given to the Albanians; at this time there were founded in Thessaly certain convents which were rather political rallying-points for the surrounding population than religious establishments. There were four such convents, all situated at strategic points, commanding the more frequented highways. These were the *tekkes* of Turbali Sultan near Rinì, on the road from Volo to Pharsala and Karditsa; of Balli Baba, near the village of Tatar, on the road between Lamia, Larissa, and Pharsala; of Shahin Baba, near the village of Kupekli; and Baba Tekke, in the celebrated Vale of Tempe, on the road from Larissa to Chaisi. These *tekkes* became the regular resorts of criminals, who plundered and spoiled the surrounding populations. So that, at the time of the destruction of the Janissaries by Sultan Mahmud, in 1826, an imperial order was issued for the destruction of the Bektashi, and the population, both Christian and Mohammedan, fell upon the *tekkes* and drove out their inmates. Two *tekkes*, those of the villages Tatar and Kupekli, were burnt; that of Rinì, either because its inmates put up a more determined resistance, or because it lay some distance from Pharsala, was spared. From 1833 onwards all sorts of rascals, sometimes even brigands, began once more to congregate in it on the pretence of doing penance, and this state of things continued till the last years of Turkish rule under the direction of a former servant of the Muslim Aga, a certain Bairam Aga, who continues to preside over the

[1] The 'great *tekke* at Konia' can hardly be other than that of the Mevlevi dervishes, who wear a headdress called *Kula* ('tower').

[2] Apparently the Volo newspaper (1882–4) of that name, but I have searched it in vain to find this reference.

tekke. Under him the system of rapine and pillage reached its height: the whole countryside was subjected by the raids of his armed brigands. A wily and far-sighted man, he legitimized his oppressive acts after the Union [1] by forged documents, supplied him by the Turkish authorities, making the *tekke* his personal property. He had still two or three monks and a few servitors to back him.

There is a local tradition that the *tekke* was built on the site of an ancient Byzantine monastery of S. George, but it is impossible to confirm this by investigation as long as the Albanians remain in possession. The *tekke* has defences like a small fortress [2] and entrance is forbidden.

At the time of the Union there were fifty monks or dervishes in the *tekke*: there are now only three and some paid servitors of Bairam Baba, all Albanians. The dervishes who formerly lived here were remarkable for the fact that they wore in their right ears a great iron earring,[3] and hanging on their breasts an eight-sided stone; [4] the novices wore white caps, and all shaved their heads once a week.

[1] *i.e.* of Thessaly with Greece, 1882.

[2] This is an absurd exaggeration: the chief defences are two sheep-dogs.

[3] This is the distinguishing mark of celibate dervishes of the Bektashi order.

[4] This is evidently the *Teslim Tash* ('Stone of Resignation') of the Bektashi, which has, however, generally a twelve-pointed form.

GLOSSARY [1]

Abdal, fool-saint.
Akhi Dede (or *Dede Baba*), 'apostolic' successor of Haji Bektash.
ἀνάθημα, votive offering.
ἀνακομιδή, exhumation of bones.
Anastasis (Gk.), Resurrection.
ashik, lover.
ayasma (*ἅγιασμα*), holy well.

baba, father, Mohammedan abbot.
bey, squire, holder of a certain rank.

Chelebi, Head of the Mevlevi of Konia; 'hereditary' successor of Haji Bektash at Haji Bektash.
cheshme, fountain.
chiftlik, farm (*lit.* the amount of land that can be ploughed with a *chift*, or pair of oxen).

dagh, mountain.
decollati (Lat.), executed criminals.
dede, grandfather, dervish, holy man.
Dede Baba = *Akhi Dede*, *q.v.*
derebey, kind of Turkish governor now obsolete, robber baron.
dervish, kind of Mohammedan monk or religious mendicant.
dev (Pers.), monster.
duden, underground channel.

efrit (Arab.), hideous demon.
eikon (Gk.), Orthodox Church picture.
emir (Arab.), chief, prince.
enkolpion (Gk.), pocket *eikon*.
εὐχολόγιον, Greek prayer-book.

fatiha, opening chapter of the Koran.

ghazi, champion of religion (title given to sultans or generals who have gained a victory over non-believers).

haga, *i.e. agha* ('Mr.').
haji, pilgrim to Mecca or other holy place.
hammam, bath.
hegoumenos (Gk.), Greek abbot.

ibadet khane, house of worship.
ilija, natural tepid spring.
imam, Mohammedan priest, leader in the ritual performance of prayer.
imaret, soup-kitchen for the poor.
in, cave.

jami, mosque.
jebar, tyrant, oppressor.
jigher, liver.
jinn, one of the *genii*.
juma, Friday, day of congregation.

kabile, tribe, clan.
kadi, district judge administering the religious law.
kale, castle.
kapu, gate.
kara, black.
karaja, roebuck.
kavass, gendarme, man-servant.
kaza, sub-division of a *sanjak*, *q.v.*
khalife, successor of Mohammed, higher grade of Bektashi abbot.
khan, galleried inn.
khane, house.
khirka, long cloak, monk's habit.
khoja, schoolmaster.
khutba, public prayer for the sovereign.
kilise (from Gk.), church.
kirk, *kirklar*, forty.

[1] Words which occur only once in the text and are there explained are not cited here again. Except where indicated, the words cited are of Turkish origin or commonly borrowed by Turkish. Greek terms are not given in Greek script unless that is found in the text. The meanings given are drawn from the usual dictionaries of the various languages concerned. The glossary as a whole owes much of its value to Sir Harry Lamb, G.B.E., K.C.M.G.

kiz, girl.
kizil, red.
kubbe, domed edifice.
kula, tower.
kurban, sacrifice (*lit.* means of approach).
kutb (Arab.), chief of *velis*, *q.v.*

lavra (Gk.), settlement of monks round a common church.
liva, brigadier-general: in civil administration = *sanjak*, *q.v.*

mahalla, quarter of a town or village, sub-division of a tribe.
makam (Arab.), sanctuary (see p. 237).
marabut (Arab.), one who devotes himself to the service of the faith.
mashaallah, what God wills!
medreseh, college for study of law and divinity.
meidan, vacant space, square, Bektashi oratory.
meidan tash, see p. 276.
mesjid, mosque.
μέτρον λαμβάνειν, to measure.
mevlud, birthday, particularly of the Prophet.
mihrab, prayer-niche, indicating the direction of the Kaaba.
mollah, judge (if following a name), student (if preceding a name).
mudir, governor of a *mudirlik*, *i.e.* sub-division of a *kaza*, *q.v.*
muezzin, crier who calls to prayer.
mufti, expounder of the religious law.
muhib, Bektashi adherent (*lit.* friend).
mujerred, celibate.
murshid, spiritual guide.
mutehhil, married.
muteveli, administrator of a *vakuf*, *q.v.*

Nakib-el-Asbraf, Registrar of the Prophet's registered descendants.
nameh (Pers.), book.
nishanji, High Chancellor (obsolete).

oda, room.
oda of Janissaries, company.
oke, Turkish pound (2¾ lb.).

pallikar (Gk.), young man, hero.
Panagia (Gk.), Virgin Mary.
panegyris (Gk.), festival.
para, Turkish farthing.
peri, fairy.
pilaf, cooked rice.
pir, old man, patron saint of a guild, superior of an order.

said, holy man, descendant of Mohammed.
sanjak, sub-division of a *vilayet*, *q.v.*
saranda (Gk.), forty.
sari, yellow.
serasker, commander-in-chief.
sheikh, Mohammedan ecclesiastical dignitary, *e.g.* head of a religious community.
Shia, non-orthodox Mohammedan.
silihdar, esquire.
skete (Gk.) = *lavra*, *q.v.*
sufi, ascetic rationalist.
Sunni, orthodox Mohammedan.
synaxaria (Gk.), Greek *acta sanctorum*.

taj (Pers.), crown.
Takhtaji, woodcutter.
tash, stone.
tawwaf (Arab.), circumambulation of the Kaaba.
tekke, Mohammedan monastery.
templon (Gk.), screen between chancel and nave.
tesbih, rosary.
teslim tash, stone of resignation.
trisagion (Gk.), see p. 24, n. 4.
turbe, mausoleum.

vakuf, property in mortmain.
veli, saint.
verghi, tribute, now applied only to direct taxes on property.
vilayet, a chief province.

yedi, *yediler*, seven.
yildiz, star.
yoghurt, curdled milk.
Yuruk, nomad.

ziaret, visit of ceremony, devotion, or friendship.

INDEX

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